ECA/POP/TP/89/1(2.5(III)

UNITED NATIONS

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

LC/NAIROB

PATTERNS, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

ADDIS ABABA SEPTEMBER 1989

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I PREFACE a)

Urbanization is a process involving a continuous concentration of population into towns and cities. Its rate is the increase between levels over specified time periods. The rate of urban population growth is, however, the change in the size of population living in urban areas between specified time periods.1/

Two related major problems of comparative analyses of urbanization ought to be noted. These are availability and comparability of data. Although the information on urbanization in African countries has improved, mainly as a sequel to the increasing availability of population census data, there are still gaps with respect to up-to-date information. The second problem relates to the diversity of definitions of urban localities adopted by the various countries, based primarily on population thresholds and functions. Some of the definitions encompass urban agglomerations, whilst others exclude them.

This paper mainly uses United Nations data which are based on national definitions of urban localities. This complicates comparative analysis. As such, the data and indices derived from them should be regarded as providing only rough quantitative indicators about urban localities.

II INTRODUCTION

The levels of urbanization in Africa have continued to increase during the past three decades or so from relatively high urban in-migration as well as natural increase. Another feature of the urbanization process in Africa is the concentration of the urban population and development in one or two urban centres, in particular the primate cities. In recent years, the burgeoning African urban areas have been confronted by such problems as poverty, increasing difficulty of securing employment in labour markets whose distinguishing characteristics include widespread open unemployment and underemployment as well as excessive stress on already over-extended social services (housing, transport, and other public utilities) and pollution.

The urbanization experience of the African continent has consequently been relatively traumatic. Unlike in the more developed countries of Western Europe, the continent's urbanization pace has been comparatively more rapid. Moreover, in contrast with the European urbanization's history, which evolved in close association with rapid urban industrial expansion, Africa's urba-

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a) This study is a revised version of a report prepared for ECA by Dr. Thando D. Gwebu (consultant)

1 United Nations, The Prospects of World Urbanization. ST/ESA/SER.A/101, (New York: 1987), p.6;and
ECA, Classifications, Definitions and Concepts of locality in Africa, Statistical Information Bulletin for Africa. No. 16 (1984)

nization process has emanated within an economic environment typified by depression.

A distinctively problematic feature of Africa's urbanization experience is that, unlike that of Europe, it does not appear to be evolving towards what is known as a rank size settlement distribution, otherwise called a log normal distribution. The continent's urban settlement distribution exhibits primate tendencies, in which only one or two major urban centres progressively domineer the rest of the settlement system. Also intersectoral disparities and imbalances exist between the primate cities and the rest of the space economy.

African Perceptions on Patterns and Trends of Urbanization

The question of whether urbanization is sine qua non for overall development in the Third World, has stimulated a lively theoretical debate centred on the generative/parasitic controversy. Empirical evidence, from the African continent, neverthless clearly suggests that both past and contemporary trends of urbanization are nationally undesirable in terms of social justice. United Nations monitoring reports show this to be the case. 2)

The 1977 United Nations Monitoring Report showed that 80 percent of the African states regarded their overall national population distribution patterns as unacceptable-44.9 percent of the countries wished to alter their rural/urban population distribution patterns. Also, 78.8 percent of the countries intended to decelerate internal migration whose component is mostly rural-urban. The fifth United Nations Population Inquiry showed that by 1982, 58.9 percent of the sub-Saharan African countries wished to reduce the growth rates of their primate cities. Almost all of the countries had a strong anti-urban bias. Although responses to the Sixth Inquiry are still incomplete, they appear to underscore the strong anti-primacy sentiments of the preceding Inquiries. 37.3 percent of the ECA member states have indicated that the growth of their metropolitan areas was unsatisfactory because it was too high. Taking the subset of those countries have responded to the Sixth Inquiry, 79.2 percent of the countries are dissatisfied with their present metropolitan growth.

Objectives and Organization of the Paper

This paper has several objectives. Basically, it seeks to articulate the patterns, causes and consequences of urbanization in ECA member States. It also attempts to initially examine the efficiency of those policies designed to rectify the undesirable outcomes of urbanization in these countries.

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2 ECA, "The Status and Prospects of Population Policies in ECA member States," Addis Ababa : 1989

The study achieves this objective in six main sections. The Preface highlights key terms used in relation to urbanization. The Introduction states the problem under investigation and reviews government perceptions on urbanization. The third and fourth sections examine the patterns, and for policy formulation reasons, causes and consequences of urbanization patterns. The fifth section is a statement of intergovernmental and national urbanization policies followed by their evaluation. The final part consists of a synthesis of the findings of this investigation.

III PATTERNS AND CAUSES OF URBANIZATION

The first part of this section of the paper highlights the patterns of urbanization. To provide the background to the discussion about policies on urbanization, the second part of the paper examines the causes of urbanization in Africa.

A. Africa's Urbanization in a Global context

The level of urbanization in Africa is among the lowest in the world, comparable only to East and South Asia (Table A.1). In 1985 for instance, the proportion urban for Africa was 31 percent; 29 and 25 percent for East and South Asia respectively; compared with 69 percent for Latin America and 72 percent for more developed regions.

On the other hand, the rate of growth of the urban population in Africa is the highest in the world. For example, between 1980 and 1985, Africa's urban population grew at an annual average rate of 5.04 percent compared with 3.51 percent for the less developed regions as a whole and 3.10 percent for South Asia. (Table A.II). By 1995-2000, Africa's projected annual urban population growth rate of 4.68 percent will still be high compared with the urban growth rate of 3.49 percent for the less developed regions and 3.67 percent for South Asia. Because of this the proportion urban for Africa is expected to increase from 31 to 41 percent between 1985 and 2000 (Table A.III).

B. Patterns of Urbanization in ECA Member States

The level of urbanization within ECA member States had increased from 21 percent in 1960 to about 33 percent in 1988. However, given variations in urban industrial development, histories of urbanization, cultures, and geographical distribution of resources, patterns of urbanization differ among the various ECA subregions.

In this context, North Africa, whose urbanization history dates back to Roman times and which is the most industrialized in terms of mining and manufacturing is the most urbanized, with

over 44 percent of its population urban. Conversely, Eastern and Southern African ECA member states being the least industrialized and having a shorter urbanization history are the least urbanized in 1989, their level being barely 23 per cent.

The spatial distribution of those urban centres having a population of at least 100,000 also reflects the geographical variations in the way industrial activity is distributed. Judging from past and current trends, urbanization is likely to continue increasing in the ECA region. It has been noted that, for instance, that whereas about 42 million people lived in urban/industrial areas of the ECA region in 1960, this figure had almost trebled to over 120 million in 1980. The projected figure of 329 million for the year 2000 is over eight times the 1960 figure. 3)

From current trends, it may be assumed that those cities at the highest levels of the urban hierarchy in Eastern, Central and possibly Southern Africa will experience the highest relative and absolute growth rates. Although urbanization rates for Northern Africa will probably be relatively lower, they will most likely record the highest absolute growth in population in response to rural-urban and stepwise migration. Conversely, the lower order centres will have the least growth rates. This will probably occur as a result of some of their populations, relocating to the higher intermediate order centres and also due to direct rural-capital city migration.

The following section of the paper examines subregional patterns of urbanization, patterns in the ECA subregions in greater detail.

1. North Africa

The total population of the six North African countries stands at 139 million in 1989.4) The average percentage growth was 2.73 percent, the lowest among ECA subregions between 1985 and 1989. All the countries except Libya and Tunisia have population sizes of over 20 million in 1989, with Egypt's 54 million being the highest in the subregion. Population growth rates are relatively high in Algeria and Libya, 3.12 and 3.65 percent respectively during the 1985-89 period.

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3 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Population Distribution and Urbanization in ECA member States (E/ECA/SER-A/S). (Addis Ababa: 1983), p. 19.

4 United Nations, World Population Prospects, ST/ESA/SER.A/106 (New York : 1989). For this and other references to population sizes and growth rates in this paper. Also, references to urban proportions and growth rates, except specifically stated, pertain to, United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988. New York, (forthcoming)

This subregion has the highest level of urbanization in Africa, with about 43 percent of its population living in urban areas in 1989. Urbanization levels in all countries, except Sudan exceed 40 percent, but have reached 65 and 53 percent in Libya and Tunisia respectively. Such high urbanization levels may partially account for the low average rate in the growth of urbanization which is estimated at 1.2 percent for the 1985-1990 period (Table A.IV).

Urban population growth rates were, however, generally high, that is, above 4 percent per annum between 1985 and 1989. Exceptions were Tunisia and Egypt which had rates of 2.86 and 3.52 percent respectively for the period. (Table A.V).

The North African subregion has the largest number of millionnaire cities in Africa, including Greater Cairo, Africa's largest city whose estimated population now stands at 8 million. Other cities in the subregion with populations of over 1 million are Alexandria (approximately 4 million population in 1989), Casablanca (approximate 1989 population, 3 million), Algiers (approximate 1989 population, 2 million), greater Khartoum (approximate 1989 population, 2 million) and Tunis (approximate 1989, population 1 million).

2. Central Africa

The ten countries of the Central Africa sub-region have a total population of 68 million in 1989. About 51 per cent of that population is accounted for by Zaire, with Cameroon and Chad having 11 and 6 million respectively. Population growth rates are relatively high with Gabon and Zaire having 3 percent and above.

In 1989, the Central Africa sub-region has the second highest level of urbanization in Africa of almost 34 per cent. The proportions urban range from about 31 per cent in Chad to about 48 per cent in Cameroon. The least urbanized states whose proportions urban are under 10 percent are Rwanda and Burundi. However, these have the highest rates of urban growth with the former having had 7.6 percent and the latter 8.3 percent between 1985 and 1989.

Because of the relatively lower levels of urbanization in the past the rate of growth of urbanization of 5.2 percent was comparatively higher than that of the North African region, between 1985-1989.Zaire, which is 40 per cent urban has the largest number of urban localities in this subregion, including Kinshasa, Lubumbashi and Kananga whose populations were: 2.7 million,544 thousand and 290 thousand respectively at the time of the 1984 census.

3. West Africa

The total population of the sixteen countries which constitute the West African subregion, one of the most populous ECA subregion,is 193 million in 1989 . The average annual percentage growth of population between 1985 and 1989 was 3.26, the highest amongst the ECA subregions. Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa,with an estimated 1989 population of 109 million, accounts

for 57 percent of the total population of the subregion

The other countries in the subregion with relatively high population sizes are,Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Burkina Faso whose 1989 populations are: 15 million, 12 million, 9 million and 8.8 million respectively. Population growth rates are high, that is 3 per cent and above, for example, in Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana,Niger, Nigeria and Togo in 1985-89

After the North and Central African subregion, the West Africa subregion has the highest level of urbanization in Africa, about 32 percent in 1989. At the country level, however, the levels of urbanization range from about 8 percent in Burkina Faso to over 55 percent in the small island country of Cape Verde. Generally those countries whose equatorial Atlantic seaboard is densely settled have levels of urbanization in excess of 30 percent. Sahelian countries,however, have the lowest levels except mineral rich Mauritania.

West Africa is among the subregions experiencing high rates of urban population growth, estimated at 5.65 percent per annum in 1985-89. Country by country urban population growth rates range from 4 to about 6.5 percent. Such high rates reflect the overall high natural increases and previously low levels of urbanization. This is also true of the average rate of growth in the level of urbanization which is about 2.3 percent.

Nigeria,with about half of the sub-Saharan urban centres,has the largest number of big cities in the West Africa subregion, with about six having estimated population sizes of over 1 million in 1989. These include Lagos, Ibadan and Kano, whose estimated population in 1989 are 4.5, 4.3 and 2 million respectively. The other large cities in the subregion are Abidjan (approximate 1989 population 1.7 million), Accra (approximate 1989 population 1.8 million) and Dakar (approximate 1989 population 1.5 million).

4 East and Southern Africa

The total population of the nineteen countries which constitute the East and Southern Africa subregion is 197 million in 1989. The average annual rate of growth of this population was 3.09 percent between 1985 and 1989. This subregion's large population sized countries, include Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Uganda and Tanzania, whose 1989 populations are 46, 24, 12, 15, 18 and 26 million respectively. The rate of population growth is relatively high, that is, above 3 percent in 1985- 1989 in twelve out of the nineteen countries: Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Swaziland, Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

With an urbanization level of 23 percent, this subregion has the lowest level among the ECA subregions. There are, however, significant inter-country differences, ranging from about 80 percent for Djibouti to about 10 percent in Uganda. Apart from Zambia, characterised by its Copperbelt agglomerations, it is generally the smallest countries whose urbanization levels are highest, exceeding 40 percent, namely

Djibouti, Mauritius and Seychelles. The rest, mainly the former East African Community States, Malawi, Zimbabwe and the former Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique have low levels of urbanization.Significantly, most of these states have only recently embarked on urban-industrial development having been dependent on the South African urban centres for manufactured items and urban-industrial employment until the early 1970's.

Because of their previously low levels of urbanization, countries in this ECA subregion have averaged the highest rates of growth of urban population, exceeding 6.50 percent between 1985 and 1989. Apart from those countries which had high levels of urbanization such as Mauritius, Djibouti and Seychelles the growth of the urban population was uniformally high in all countries, and exceedingly high in Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Tanzania, which recorded rates of 7 percent and above between 1985 and 1989. Correspondingly, the average rate of growth of levels of urbanization was the highest in the region being 3.40 percent in Eastern Africa and 1.40 percent in Southern Africa between 1985 and 1989. It is noteworthy that the figure for Southern Africa might be an underestimate because it excludes the Republic of South Africa.

Overall this subregion is characterized by few large cities. Addis Ababa, whose 1989 population is estimated at 2 million is the largest. Others include, Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Kampala, each with a population of over 1 million in 1989.

IV. THE CAUSES OF URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

Urbanization in Africa results from two basic sources-natural increase and urban in-migration.Mention should also be made of reclassification of urban areas as a factor, but the contribution of this source is apparently minimal. With regard to the first two urbanization determinants, controversy has arisen as to whether natural increase or urban net in-migration is the more predominant factor.

Excessive urban growth rates relative to rural ones have been recorded in the ECA member States between 1950-1980. According to a United Nations Report 5) urban rates were about two-and-a-half times the rural rates in West Africa, three times the rural rates in North and East Africa, four-and-a-half times the rural rates in Central Africa and six-and-a-half times the rural rates in Southern Africa.

United Nations estimates of crude vital rates for urban areas and rural areas around 1960 for the world's major regions indicate that differences between rural and urban rates of natural increase tend to be slight. Historical evidence,moreover, suggests that the progression of the urban areas along the demographic transition path may be relatively faster than the rural areas. These two arguments therefore seem to suggest that

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5 UNECA, Population Distribution, op. cit.. p. 30

any excessive urban growth rates may be due more to rural-urban migration rather than natural increase. It is in this light that empirical findings by other researchers must be interpreted. The Ehrlichs have thus claimed that rapid urban growth in the developing countries is due mainly to rural-urban migration. 6) Todaro has also claimed that the unprecedented volume and rate of internal rural-urban migration is the principal factor contributing to the long term growth of urban areas in developing regions. 7)

Similarly, El-Shakhs and Amirahmadi have noted that whereas before the 1970's rural-urban migration was circulatory and accounted for less than 50 percent of urban growth, it has since then exceeded 70 percent in a number of large urban centres. 8)

The following section of the paper regards, and therefore concentrates on, migration as the main determinant of urban growth in African urbanization.

A. Causes of Rural-Urban Migration

At least two levels of the analysis of the motivation of migration can be identified, namely the individual/behavioural 9) and the structural level. 10)

According to the individual approach, the migration process is perceived as being based on the rational (although sometimes seemingly irrational) calculus of the individual who weighs the costs and benefits involved in relocation. A migrant normally incurs certain costs such as monetary expenses of moving, foregone earnings from the place of origin and also pyschic costs associated in changing his/her environment. Against these costs are certain benefits, also associated with the movement, chief among which are the potentials (which may or may not be realized) of improving his future income.

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6 P.R.Ehrilch, and A.H.Ehrilch, Population, Resources, Environment: Issues in Human Ecology (New York, 1974).

7 M. P.Todaro, "Urbanization in developing nations : trends, prospects,and policies", Journal of Geography, vol. 79 (1980), p,169.

8 S.El-Shakhs and H.Amirahmadi, "Urbanization and Spatial development in Africa : some critical issues", African Urban Quarterly, Vol. 1 (1986), p.15

9 J Wolpert, "Behavioural aspects of the decision to migrate", Papers Regional Science Association,vol.15 (1966) pp.159-169),

10 A combination of these approaches is suggested in A L Mabogunje, "Systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration", Geographical Analysis, vol.2 (1970), pp.1-18,and more recently in S.E.Findlay, "An interactive contextual model of migration in Ilocos Norte, the Philippines", and R E Bilsborrow and others, "The Impact of origin community characteristics on rural-urban out migration in a developing country". Demography, vol. 24, no.2 (May 1987).

Information for sample surveys that include questions on the motives of migrants for changing one locality for another facilitate analyses based on the individual approach. Admittedly, few such studies have been conducted in Africa.

One such study, conducted in Sierra Leone, found that subjective familiarity of various components of the space economy by potential migrants affected individual migration patterns. 11) Another investigation in Botswana revealed that the search for employment is the key factor shaping migration decisions. 12)

A number of rural-urban migration studies have however, adopted the structuralist approach which underplays the role of the individual, focusing instead on the broader economic, social, political and other environmental contexts of the movement. In the earlier studies these factors were examined individually but recently interactive models have been employed to analyse them.

B. Some African Empirical Studies on the Causes of Rural-Urban Migration

Among the most important determinants of rural-urban migration are the economic ones. These will be thus examined first.

1.Economic Causes

Early tests of the determinants of migration were conducted mainly by anthropologists and sociologists. They made exhaustive studies of small localities through field surveys and attributed rural out migration to the deprivation and deteriorating nature of the rural environment.

Read, for instance, in a detailed study of labour migration in six different areas in Nyasaland (Malawi), produced evidence which showed that migration from any given area was mainly a push process since it occurred predominantly in impoverished areas with poor lands and no export crops. 13) In areas near European settlments, which were more affluent, she found that permanent labour migration was less pronounced.

Similarly in Nyakusa in Tanganyika (Tanzania), Gulliver pointed out that out migration occured largely in the poorer localities with no exploitable natural resources. 14)

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11 T.D.Gwebu, "Migration and the dynamics of space economy : an investigation of spatial development in Sierra Leone", unpublished dissertation, Kent State University, 1977.

12 R.Lucas, "Determinants of Migration decision", in J. Case, (ed.) Migration in Botswana: patterns,causes and consequences (Central Statistics Office, Gaborone, 1982). pp. 237-296.

13 M. Read, "Migrant labour in Africa and its effects on trial life, "International Labour Review" vol. XLV (June 1942).

14 P.M. Gulliver, Labour Migration in a rural economy, East African Studies, No. 6, Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, 1955.

In Sierra Leone, Banton in the early 1950's observed, from three localities in the Northern Provinces, which contributed a fair amount of migrants to Freetown, the capital, that migration from these areas was closely connected with the degradation of the soil. 15)

Population pressure on resources as shown by density indicators has been given as a cause of rural-urban migration by economists. Levi's study of Sierra Leone concluded that, "there is some evidence that many migrants come from relatively small pockets of the country where land degradation and population pressure are great and where there is little opportunity for changing agricultural techniques." 16)

In Kenya where there is land shortage in several rural areas, Ominde observed that out-migration occurred because "the available land cannot maintain an adequate standard of living or even support improved living conditions." 17)

However, in this context, it should be noted that an alternative viewpoint about population pressure and resources has been put forward by Boserup. 18) She contends that population pressure on land does also act as a catalyst for technical development in peasant agriculture by engendering changes in peasant agriculture- readjustment and reallocation of resources-which produce intensified agricultural production.

Goddard, who made a detailed micro study of population movement and land shortages in the Sokoto close-settled zone of Nigeria appears to substantiate Boserup's ideas. 19) He discovered that through intensification, by altering the ratios of existing factors of production, the farmers were able to produce both food and cash crops, despite one of the highest rural population densities in the world. Similarly, Grove, who conducted a study on density and agriculture in Northern Nigeria, found out that the practice of mixed farming and soil improvement were prevalent around the larger towns and cities in Hausaland, areas of high densities. 20)

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15 M.Banton, West African City : A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1957).

16 J.F.S.Levi,"Migration from the land and urban unemployment in Sierra Leone",Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, Vol.35 (November 1973), pp 309-326

17 S.H.Ominde, "Population movement to the main urban areas of Kenya", Cashiers d'Etuder Africaines, Paris, 5(4), (1966), pp. 593- 617.

18 E .Boserup, The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The economics of agrarian change under population pressure. (London : George Allen and Unwin, 1966).

19 A.O.Goddard, "Population Movement and Land Shortage, in the Sokoto Close-Settled Zone, Nigeria" in S. Amin (ed.). Modern Migration in Western Africa. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).

20 A.T.Grove, "Labour densities and agriculture in Northern Nigeria", in K.M.Barbour and R.M.Prothero (eds.). Essays on African Population (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

But van de Walle has argued that population pressure does not in all cases result in more intensive forms of cultivation, because there are limits imposed on (a) farmers' ability to change agricultural techniques and, (b) the carrying capacity of the land. 21)

Accordingly, we can differentiate two situations - one, the more prevalent, where population pressure on resources as shown by indicators such as accelerating soil erosion, soil deterioration, degradation and outright destruction, often associated with overstocking and overgrazing, land fragmentation, breakdown of indigenous farming systems and small holdings, 22) cannot be complimented by technological changes in agriculture and thus leads to out-migration, as one of the adjustment mechanisms. The second situation, where the traditional agriculture is amenable to technological adjustment, results in intensification of production.

Besides the push effect of population pressure, rural-urban migration has also been interpreted as a response to created distortions and imbalances in both economic and social apportunities between urban and rural areas. Todaro's basic model of rural-to-urban migration hinges, for instance, on the differential in expected income between rural and urban areas. 23) This model accounts for the excessive rural-urban migration prompted by attractive urban wages and employment opportunities.

2 Social Causes

Todaro has claimed that rural youth are schooled in a formal educational system that is often designed to prepare them in lock-step fashion for each higher level in the system. 24) He maintains that the ultimate goal of students and their parents is the acquisition of a "white collar" job in the city. Highly paid urban jobs assure parents of social security and their children's upward social mobility. 25) Other social reasons which cause rural-urban migration include the desire to join relatives, friends or husbands. 26)

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21 E.van de Walle, "Population and Economic Development" in J C Caldwell (ed.). Population Growth and Solid Economic Change in West Africa. (New York : Columbia University Press, 1975).
22 W.Hance, "Population and Resources", in J C Cadwell (ed.) op cit.
23 H.Rempel and M.P.Todaro, "Rural-to-urban labour migration in Kenya", in Population Growth and Economic Development in Africa, ed. by S.H.Ominde and C.N.Ejiogu. (London, Heinemann, 1973), pp.214 - 216.
24 Todaro, op. cit., p. 169
25 R.P.Dore, The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualifications and Development (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
26 W. Izzard, "Rural-urban migration of women in Botswana" (Gaborone:CSO,1979).

3. Political Causes

Rural insecurity has led to an increase in refugees in urban and rural areas where they seek shelter. This has been the case in most ECA member States, including Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola.

Urbanization in West African cities has occasionally experienced periodic increases when nationals of one country, mostly urban petty traders, have been expelled from another country. Graphic cases in point include the mass exodus which occurred following the enforcement of Ghana's Aliens Compliance Order in 1969 and Nigeria's Aliens Quit Order of 1983. By and large politically-inspired rural-urban migration, like all involuntary forms of relocation, cannot be easily predicted.

4. Multivariate Analyses

Since the late 1960s multivariate analyses of migration data have been performed in an attempt to explain Africa's rural-urban migration more adequately.Perhaps the pioneering study was by Beals, Levy and Moses who made use of the 1960 Ghanaian census data. 27) In their migration regression model they found that distance, education, income, urbanization and population density were significantly related to migration.

Essang and Mabawonku, in a regression model based on data from a rural-urban migration survey of 480 migrants from selected communities in Western Nigeria, estimated that migration rates were significantly related to education, distance, rural-urban earning differentials and the availability of relatives in the urban areas. 28)

In Sierra Leone, Byerlee, Tommy and Fatoo, from a national rural-urban migration survey, estimated that distance, the size of urban areas, and urban wage rates were significant in their regression models. 29)

Barnum and Sabot in an education-specific rural-urban migration study of Tanzania found out from their regression models that employment probability and rural-urban income differentials were the significant determinants of migration. 30) They also

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27 R.E.Beals, M.B.Levy and L .N. Moses, "Rationality and Migration in Ghana", The Review of Economics and Statistics. Vol. 49 (1969), pp. 480 - 486.

28 S.M.Essang and A.F.Mabawonku,"Determinants and Impacts of rural-urban migration : a case study of selected communities in Western Nigeria". African Rural Employment Paper,No.3.Michigan State University, 1974.

29 D.Byerlee, J.L.Tommy and H.Fatoo, "Rural-urban migration in Sierra Leone : determinants and policy implications",African Rural Economy Paper No.13, Michigan State University, 1976.

30 H.N.Barnum and P. H.Sabot, Migration, Education and Urban Surplus Labour.(Paris: OECD Development Centre, 1975).

observed that while education influences the rate of migration primarily as a consequence of its association with urban expected incomes, rural residents with more education have a higher propensity to migrate independently of income differentials.

V. CONSEQUENCES OF URBANIZATION

A. Introduction

As was pointed out in the introduction, urbanization in African countries, in recent years, has resulted in a number of problems: for example, widespread unemployment and underemployment and deterioration of social services, such as housing, transportation and health. In addition, the phenomenon has spawned primacy, which has been described as implying " a situation where the first city in a country is so much larger than the second as almost not to belong to the same genre" 31) Primate cities in Africa have a disproportionate share of their country's economic and social resources as well as urban population. The economic crisis of the past few years has exacerbated the above mentioned problems of Africa cities.

The positive consequences of urbanization- for example, urban agglomeration economies and private benefits that accrue to rural-urban migrants - should also be noted.

This section of the paper will analyze the above-mentioned consequences of urbanization in Africa, in detail, with emphasis on the implications of urban primacy.

8 Urban Primacy

One distinct feature of the urbanization process in Africa is the concentration of urban populations, as well as development in single metropolitan cities. These primate cities, which have over the years been experiencing rapid rates of growth, have a disproportionate share of social and economic resources and the urban populations of individual countries.

For example, in the 1970's the populations of the largest cities of Angola, Benin, Central African Republic and Cote d'Ivoire constituted between 5 to 10 times the population of the second largest cities in these countries. With regard to the distribution of economic and social resources: Accra, in Ghana, by 1960 accounted for 51 percent of the country's total electricity consumption compared with 18 percent in Kumasi, the second largest city. By 1970, Accra's share had risen to 68

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31 A. K. Mabogunje, The Development Process (London:Hutchinson and Co., 1980)

percent compared with 11 percent for Kumasi. This demonstrates the deviation amplification of polarization characterized by the evolution of primacy. The monopolizing tendencies of primate capitals has been noted elsewhere in African countries. Harvey, writing in 1976, noted that Bamako had 54 percent of all wage earners, 62 percent of national production, about 49 percent of all salaries and wages, 33 percent of the profit from all businesses in Mali. It also consumed 45 percent of all imported products, 33 percent of all imported cement, and about 50 percent of all imported goods.32)Nairobi had about 48 percent of all wholesalers in Kenya. Addis Ababa had about 48 percent of the doctors, 59 percent of the nurses and 31 percent of the available beds in hospitals in Ethiopia. Douala in the Cameroons had about 33 percent of all commercial banks, 50 percent of all hospital beds and about 80 percent of all business establishments.

The origins of most of the primate cities can be traced to the pattern of development laid down during the colonial period, which favoured especially coastal towns as the major port, the political and administrative capital.

To assess the level and extent of primacy in Africa, the following sections of the paper will highlight both country and subregional similarities and differences.

Table A. VI which contains information on the population of the primate city expressed as a percentage of the total national population, provides a rough indication of the degree of primacy in ECA Member States. It shows that the degree of primacy was fairly high (that is, 10 percent or more) for Egypt, Libya and Tunisia in North Africa; Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Mauritania, Sierra Leone and Togo in West Africa; the Central African Republic, Congo, Equitorial Guinea in Central Africa; Mauritius and Seychelles in East/South Africa.

Table A. VII has more refined indicators of the degree of primacy in selected ECA Member States, namely, the two-city and four-city indices. According to the two-city index, defined as the population of the largest city divided by the population of the second largest city (P1/P2), urban primacy is high (that is 5 and above) for Tunisia in North Africa; Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Sierra Leone and Togo in West Africa; the Central African Republic in Central Africa; and Angola, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Tanzania and Uganda in East/South Africa.

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32 M.E. Harvey, "Urban Economic Development" in C.G.Knight and J.L.Newman Contemporary Africa : Geography and Change.(Prentice Hall Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1976) pp. 301-302.

The information on the four city index, defined as the population of the largest city divided by the combined populations of the next three largest cities (P1/P2+P3+P4) is presented in Table A. VII, and has been summarized in Table 1 according to three classifications - low, medium and high.

Among the countries in the low primacy category are: Burundi, Cameroon, Gambia, Nigeria, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Regionally these countries are more or less equally distributed over the ECA subregions. Fifteen out of the twenty-seven selected countries are in category, medium. Probably because of the relative recency and rapidity of urbanization the bulk of these countries are found in Western and in the East/South subregions. The six countries that had high primacy by this index are found outside North Africa, in those subregions with comparatively shorter histories of urbanization, fewer urban places and less complex industrial economies, namely West, Central and the East/South subregions. Of significance is that development policies appear to be reinforcing primacy in the less developed ECA subregions - Table II

Subregional similarities and differences are now examined.

1 Subregional variations in Primacy

a North Africa

This subregion, as has been shown above, is the most urbanized in the ECA region both in terms of the absolute number of cities, the sizes of these cities and urbanization levels.

Rural-urban migration in this subregion is caused by rural over-population, particularly in the arid and semi-arid areas where exploitable resources are sporadically distributed. Urban-urban stepwise migration also results when the investment and employment opportunities of lower order centres deteriorate. Chances are that subsequent migrants from lower order localities and rural areas bypass the stagnant and moribund intermediate towns for the capital cities. These two population redistribution patterns cause and sustain primacy and over urbanization.

Population concentrations on the coastal lowlands of the North African subregion, which have been induced by agricultural developments, have been further reinforced by the presence of major urban industrial centres such as Casablanca, Rabat, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Benghazi. 33) Industrial jobs in Morocco are all concentrated within the Casablanca- Rabat corridor. Over 50 percent of all industrial employees in Tunisia are to be found in Tunis.

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33 J Murray. The Cultural Atlas of Africa (Oxford Phaidon, 1981), and R Bonnadel. The Atlas of Africa (Paris: Jeune Afrique, 1973)

Table 1 : DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED AFRICAN CITIES BY DEGREE OF PRIMACY - ECA SUB-REGIONAL a)

Four-City Primacy Index	North	West	Central	East/South
Low (n=7) under 1	Sudan	Gambia Nigeria	Burundi Cameroon	Zambia Zimbabwe
Medium(n=15) 1.0- 2.9	Algeria Egypt Tunisia	Burkina Faso Ghana Mali Niger Senegal Sierra Leone	Congo Zaire	Angola Kenya Madagascar Tanzania
High (n = 6) 3 and over		Benin Cote d' Ivoire Togo	Central African Republic	Ethiopia Uganda

Source : Table A. VII

a) n = no. of cities

Outside these areas in the other locality of the North African subregion, the Nile Valley, because of unfavourable rural conditions, the rural population continues to drift into the main urban industrial areas. Currently, about 50 percent of all the Egyptians live in urban areas whereas about half that ratio in Sudan are urbanized. Most of its rural-urban migrants come from the economically depressed Western Region. 34)

Most of the urban population in Egypt live either in the Greater Cairo or Alexandria metropolitan areas. About 75 percent of Egypt's factories, and at least 70 percent of its factory workers are employed in these urban industrial areas.

Sudan's urban-industrial-related population concentration, which constitutes over 24 percent of the national population, coincides with its three-town conurbation, consisting of Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Omdurman. About 1.4 million persons live there, where they work in light industry, crafts, commercial and administrative functions. Although Sudan has fewer towns than its ECA subregional counterparts, its over-concentration of socioeconomic opportunities in its conurbation resembles the primate tendencies of the other North African cities.

Overall, this sub-region's urban population will continue increasing from a level of 44.3 percent in 1990 to 50 percent in the year 2000. By that time, only Sudan will be the least urbanized country in North Africa with 27 percent of its population living in towns. The rest of the countries will be above 50 percent urbanized and Libya will be actually 76 percent urbanized.(Table A.III). It is therefore imperative that appropriate development strategies be formulated to cater for these anticipated levels of urbanization, and that proper measures are immediately implemented to prevent the urban minority from monopolizing each country's resources.

b West Africa

This subregion is characterized by two distinct zones of urban industrial activities which have attracted population. 35& 36) In the north are found either the agrobased or mining centres stretching from Nouakchott to Kano.

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34 M.M.Khogali, "Western Sudanese Migrants to Khashin El-Girba Agricultural Region", in J.I. Clarke and L. A. Kosincki (eds.) REdistribution of Population in Africa. (London : Heineman, 1982).

35 J Murray op. cit.

36 R Bonnadel op. cit.

Over 30 percent of Mauritania's population is concentrated in its main urban industrial centres which include Nouakchott, Nouadhibou, Kaedi and Zouerate. Moving eastwards, with the Sudan Belt, one encounters some of the least urbanized states in the ECA region. These have a weak natural resources base. In sharp contradiction to these areas, northern Nigeria has veritable agro-industrial metropoles.

In general, urban industrial population in the Sudan Belt has been attracted either to the-

(i) old training centres such as Kano, which are situated at the intersections and termini of ancient trade routes and which bear a strong rural and agricultural stamp ;

(ii) mining centres which extract gold, uranium, iron ore or salt ;

(iii) Agro-based industries which process either food, livestock products or natural fibres; or

(IV) traditional urban industrial towns whose local industries are still organized on a traditional guild or handicraft associations.

The most important urban-industrial population concentrations occur along the Atlantic Coast. Within that subarea, Abidjan commands about 30 percent of urban industrial activity in Francophone Africa; the Lagos - Apapa - Ebute - Metta - Muskin - Ikeja industrial agglomeration boasts of nearly 50 percent of Nigeria's manufacturing industry; and the Accra - Tema-Sekondi - Takoradi industrial districts command a lion's share of Ghana's heavy industry.

As elsewhere in the ECA region, there is a disturbingly excessive concentration of resources and populations in the state capitals of this subregion. For instance over three quarters of the manufacturing industry of Gambia, Liberia, Senegal and Sierra Leone is located in the national capitals of these countries. The figure for Abidjan is 63 percent whereas Lagos and Accra have about a third of national secondary industries located in them.

The two-city primacy indices are consequently high for the West African State capitals. Bamako and Dakar's populations are six times those of their second-ranked urban rival cities. Abidjan is over 5 times that of Bouake. Niamey and Accra are respectively 3.1 and 2.17 times larger than their second ranked rivals. Over half of the capitals have at least 40 percent of their national urban populations living in them. Exceptions include Banjul which accommodates half of Gambia's urban population.

The implication again. as in all the other ECA subregions,is a mismatch of the national stock of capital resources in favour of the urban minority and over-urbanization resulting in the rural and lower-order-settlements migrants simultaneously heading mainly for a single metropole in each country.

C Eastern Africa

The extent of urban primacy is well-illustrated when the population of each state capital is made a ratio of the total nation urban population in each country. In most cases, over 40 percent of the overall urban population lives in the national capital. Based on a two-city primacy index, ratios range from 1.11 through 5.43 to as high as 10.18, for Antananarivo, Mombasa and Kampala, respectively. On the whole, these figures are much higher than those for Northern Africa, which range from 1.11 to 4.10; suggesting that the Eastern Africa subregion conforms less to the rank size distribution of settlements than the North African Subregion. However, the common denominator accounting for primacy in both ECA subregions is overconcentration of industrial development in one or two major urban centres, as will be shown below for the various subareas of the Eastern Africa Subregion.

Starting with the Horn subarea which consists of Ethiopia and Somalia, urban primacy due to industrial development is suggested when it is realized that about 50 percent of all manufacturing industry is in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, which has around 30 percent of that country's urban population. When other functional urban extensions of Addis Ababa such as Akaki and Nazaret are also included, the proportion of manufacturing industry which is over-concentrated within a limited geographical area becomes even greater. Somalia's primate tendencies are associated with its coastal capital port of Mogadishu which is the hub of the country's industry.

Next comes what was previously known as the East African Community countries made up of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. In the case of Kenya, over 43 percent of that country's urban population resides in Nairobi which is 2.43 times the size of the size of the second largest city, Mombasa. The two cities jointly command over 70 percent of Kenya's industrial establishments. Similarly, in Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam has over 30 percent of the country's urban population and is over six times the size of Zanzibar, the second largest city. Dar-es-Salaam has over 60 percent of Tanzania's industries. The picture is not very different in Uganda which has over 45 percent of the nation's urban population resident in Kampala. Kampala's population is about ten times the size of Jinja, the second largest city in Uganda. The urban industrial zone which stretches from Masaka district to West Busoga, of which Kampala is a functional part, has virtually 90 percent of all manufacturing and commercial establishments in Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda are geographically part of this region's subregion. Virtually all manufacturing industry is to be found in the state capitals of Bujumbura and Kigali respectively. Consequently, they command the highest population relative to the other urban centres in the respective countries.

The next important geograpical component of this subregion is what was formally known as the Federation of Central Africa made up of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. The proportion of the national urban population living in the state capitals of the respective countries are about 28 percent, 40 percent and 46 percent. Lusaka has about 36 percent of Zambia's industries

whereas Blantyre has about 73 percent of Malawi's. The relatively low figure for the Zambian capital reflects a powerful counter attraction posed by the Copperbelt industrial agglomerations, especially Kitwe, which has over 60 percent of the country's industry. Consequently, Lusaka lacks the entire range of primate characteristics, typical of most ECA regional capital cities. Similarly, Harare's potential primacy is dampened by Bulawayo, which is Zimbabwe's major industrial hub. Functionally, however, Harare and Bulawayo constitute a primate unit, being over four times the size of Chitungwiza, the third largest city.Jointly, Bulawayo and Harare account for well over 80 percent of the country's production output and have well over 70 percent of the country's urban population. The fact that the state capitals of Zambia and Zimbabwe are not typical primate cities has however not absolved them from the overurbanization syndrome characteristic of all the major cities in the ECA region.

Zimbabwe's neighbour to the east and southeast, Mozambique, affords another illustrative case of the existing mismatch between the national stock of capital resources with population distribution. Mozambique is just over 10 percent urbanized. Although some of its industries are located in Beira and Nampula, it is in Maputo, the capital, where most of them are found. This Mozambican capital has over 60 percent of the nation's urban population and is over three times the size of Beira, the country's second largest city.

d Central Africa

This subregion has some of the most urbanized states on the continent. What is worth noting, with regard to primacy in Central Africa, is that all the capital cities of the respective countries have at least a third of all national manufacturing industries, although the situation is accentuated in some capitals. For example, Douala has about half of Cameroon's manufacturing industry, whereas Bangui and Libreville have a complete and absolute monopoly of their national manufacturing industry.

From this, we can infer that ancillary industries and services and a large segment of service industry and related employment opportunities are also concentrated in the national capitals.

Consequently, these capital cities have attracted a disproportionate share of national urban populations. Virtually all the subregional capitals, except Douala have at least a third of their national urban population living in them. Exceptionally high cases include Bangui, Luanda and Brazaville, which have at least 41, 56 and 53 percent of their national urban populations.

Comparable figures indicate that Malabo, the capital city of Equatorial Guinea has over half of its national urban population. The primate tendencies of these capital cities are also clearly underscored by their relative sizes, when compared to their other respective local centres.

In this context Bangui is about eight times the size of Bambari, the second largest city in the CAR; whereas Kinshasa in Zaire and N'Djamena in Chad are over four-times the size of their second rivals. Over concentration of population in the metropolitan areas in the Central African subregion, has caused overurbanization. Their monopoly of national investment has created a serious mismatch between resources and population.

e Southern Africa

Due to the recency of urbanization in this ECA subregion, it is relatively the least urbanized. However, as elsewhere on the continent, the capital cities have a monopoly of all the nations' social and economic resources and related opportunities for employment.

In the case of Lesotho, this primate tendency by the capital is unmistakeably illustrated when the following points are considered. Virtually all the modern manufacturing and service industries are to be found in the Maseru- Poma- Morija urban cluster region. Over 80 percent of all the country's population lives in that area.

Compared to Lesotho, Swaziland has a broader natural resource base with the monopolization of the country's urban population by the capital less severe. Mbabane, the capital, has about 32 percent of Swaziland's urban population. Its population, social, economic and capital-monopolizing tendencies are less than those of Lesotho's capital city, Maseru. This is due primarily to Manzini which acts as a counter magnet to Mbabane.

Over 20 percent of the population of Botswana now lives in towns. What is spectacular about Botswana's urban-related population concentration is the rate at which they have been growing. The monopolizing characteristics of the capital city are evident. Firstly, Gaborone's population is about twice that of Francistown, the second largest town. Its population almost equals that of the second and third cities combined. Finally, it has about 40 percent of the national urban population.

2. Implications of Urban Primacy 37)

The preceding discussion has clearly shown that major cities in the ECA subregion enjoy a monopoly of investment and related national socio-economic opportunities. Available evidence, as shown in Table II strongly suggests that processes of cumulative causation are progressively heightening urban primacy with time.

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37 R. E. Stern and R. R. White, African Cities in Crises. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989); M. Peil, African Urban Society (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1984); and A.O'Connor, Op.Cit

Table II :

URBAN SIZE DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AND PRIMACY:
SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES:
1960s, 1970s and 1980s

Country/Year	City Population in Thousands				Four-City Primary Index
	Largest	Second	Third	Fourth	
ETHIOPIA					
1967	644	179	51	43	2.36
1984	1,413	275	98	76	3.15
Nigeria					
1963	665	627	295	209	0.59
1972	1,569	1,479	578	408	0.64
1984	4,486	4,230	1,654	1,167	0.64
Ghana					
1960	388	218	123	58	0.97
1970	636	345	161	99	1.05
1984	964	489	175	168	1.16
Kenya					
1948	119	85	18	11	1.04
1969	509	247	47	32	1.54
1979	828	341	93	153	1.41
Sierra Leone					
1974	276	76	39	31	1.89
1985	470	82	60	52	2.42
Tanzania					
1957	129	38	20	10	1.90
1967	273	61	35	33	2.12
1978	831	143	128	84	2 34

Table II (contd.)

Country/Year	City Population in Thousands				Four-City Primary Index
	Largest	Second	Third	Fourth	
Uganda					
1969	332	48	47	24	2.80
1980	459	45	29	28	4.46
Zambia					
1963	123	123	93	81	0.41
1969	262	200	160	107	0.56
1980	536	264	250	139	0.82
Zimbabwe					
1962	310.4	210.0	42.5	38.5	1.06
1969	386.0	245.0	40,2	45.0	1.15
1975	569.0	340.0	64.0	62.0	1.22

Sources: M: Rafiq and Hailemariam, " Some Structural Aspects of Urbanization in Ethiopia",Genus, Vol. XLIII, No. 3-4 December 1987; A.G. Onibokun, "Urban Growth and Management in Nigeria", in R.E.Stern and R.R.White (eds.) African Cities in CrisisBoulder Westview Press, 1989; Ghana, 1984 Population Census of Ghana, Preliminary Results.Accra: Central Bureau of Statistics, December 1984; Sierra Leone, The National Census Office, The 1985 Population Census : Provisional Figures, Freetown Central Statistics Office, August 1986; R.O. Obudho. Urbanization and Rural Planning in East Africa' Mimeograph; Zambia, 1980 Population and Housing Census of Zambia, Vol. II Lusaka: Central Statistical Office n.d. Zimbabwe, 1982 Population Census : A Preliminary Assessment CSO Harare.

What are the implications of these developments for the socio-economic development of African countries? This question assumes importance within the context of the current crises which appears to have exacerbated the following problems of primate cities: Uncontrolled rapid growth of slums and unauthorized spontaneous settlements, traffic congestion, unemployment and underemployment, acute shortage of housing, high incidence of crime and quantitative and qualitative underdevelopment of rural areas.

These social costs of primate cities must be considered against agglomeration benefits which accrue to both households and firms, from the concentration of population, infrastructure and services. In this connection, Richardson has enumerated the following attractions of Nairobi to firms and households : access to Kenya's largest market, the second best site (inferior to only Mombasa) for export-orientated industries, the diversity and depth of the metropolitan pool of labour, easier linkages with other established industries, proximity to government which facilitates lobbying and other activities, and the social and cultural amenities of the national capital as well as communication economies. 38) These agglomeration economies of Nairobi are similar to those of almost any other African primate city.

Although there are problems of satisfactorily quantifying the various benefits and costs of primate cities mentioned above, the general opinion is that their social costs far outweigh private and social benefits. To elaborate on this theme, the consequences of primacy for industrial development, employment and regional development are next examined in greater detail.

a Urban Unemployment and Underemployment

Urban unemployment and underemployment rank among the most pervasive problems of African countries in recent years. Growing rural-urban migration, and natural increase in urban areas, as well as the economic crisis which has resulted in shortages of resources to finance urban infrastructure and services, have worsened these problems.

Urban unemployment and underemployment contribute to resource misallocation in African countries for the following reasons. 39)

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38 H W Richardson, "An Urban Development Strategy for Kenya". Journal of Developing Areas, 15 (October 1980).

39 A Gilbert and J Gugler, Cities Poverty and Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Firstly, this is because rural-to-urban migration leads to qualitative and quantitative loss of manpower needed for rural development.

Secondly, it has been argued that the excess supply of labour in African urban areas far exceed the demand, a situation that has led to many unemployed and/or underemployed not fully using their skills in productive activities.

Thirdly, these additions to urban populations have made the development process much more difficult as it is far cheaper to provide employment, infrastructure and services in rural areas where the vast majority of the population live, than in urban areas.

The following subsection examines the extent and magnitude of the urban employment problems in African countries in greater detail by separately reviewing open unemployment and underemployment.

b Open urban unemployment

Table III which summarizes the available evidence on urban open unemployment in African countries for the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s indicates that the phenomenon was serious in most of the fourteen countries in the 1960s and 1970s. The evidence also establishes that open unemployment is more serious for the population, aged 15 to 24 years than for the total population, and for females than for males. What is even more disturbing is the fact that latest information indicates that well over 40 percent of the population within the age group 15 to 24 were openly unemployed in the 1980s.

Given the sluggish growth of employment in the modern sector, the preferred area of employment for the majority of the urban population, along with the rapid expansion of the urban labour, it is the view of several experts that open urban unemployment (and underemployment) have increased in African countries in the 1980s. For example, the ILO notes that

> decelerating wage employment growth in the context of a rapidly expanding labour force has resulted in...the growing extent of open unemployment,in particular in urban areas.40)

The evidence on youth and young adult unemployment shows that open unemployment affects between one half to three-quarters of the unemployed population, although youths form about a third of the African labour force. More precisely, it has been estimated that by 1984, the ratio of urban youth who are unemployed to adult unemployment were 3.9 in Ethiopia in 1986. Parallel figures for Kenya and Zambia were 4.5 and 3.8, respectively.41)

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40 ILO. African Employment Report 1988. Addis Ababa: Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, 1989, pp. 16 - 20

41 Idem

Table III :

ESTIMATES OF URBAN OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES, 1960s, 1970s AND 1980s

Country	Year	Towns	Percentage reported unemployed	Population
Benin a	1960s	Urban area	13	Men aged 15-60
Botswana c	1984/85	Urban areas	56	Youth aged 15-19
Cameroon	1962 a	Largest city	13	Men over age 14
	1964 a	Capital city	17	Men over age 14
	1976 b	Urban areas	12	Labour force
		Douala	20	Male labour force
			24	Female labour force
	1976 b	Yaounde	15	Male Labour force
			22	Female labour Force
Central African Republic b	1976	Urban areas	17	Labour Force
		Bangui	17	Male Labour Force
			27	Female Labour Force
Cote d'Ivoire	1970 a	Capital city	20	Labour force
Ethiopia c	1984	Urban areas	24	Youth aged 15-24
			19	Adults 20-24
Ghana	1960 a	Large towns	12	Persons over age 14
	1970 a	Two largest cities	9	Men over age 14
Kenya	1968/69a	Capital city	10	Adult males
	1968/69a	Second largest city	14	Adult males
	1986c	Urban areas	16	Labour force
			48	Youth aged 15-19
			39	Adults 20-24
Madagascar b	1975	Urban areas	14	Labour force
		Antananarivo	17	Male labour force
			14	Female labour force

Table III (contd.)

Country	Year	Towns	Percentage reported unemployed	Population
Malawi b	1977	Urban areas	5	Labour force
		Blantyre-Limbe	4	Male labour force
			8	Female labour force
Nigeria	1963a	27 towns	14	Persons over age 14
	1966/67a	Urban areas	8	Labour force aged 15-55
	1983c	Urban areas	47	Youth aged 15-19
			28	Adults aged 20-24
Sierra Leone	1974a	Small urban	13	Educated &un-educated
		Large urban	15	Educated &un-educated
Tanzania	1971a	7 towns	5	Men
			21	Women
Togo b	1970	Urban areas	4	Labour force
		Lome	6	Male labour force
			12	Female labour force
Tunisia b	1975	Urban areas	13	Labour force
			13	Male labour force
			15	Female Labour force
Zaire a	1967	Capital city	13	Men over age 14

a) J.Gugler,"Migrating to Urban Centres of Unemployment in Tropical Africa", in A.H. Richmond and D.Kubat (eds.)Internal Migration:The New World and the Third World.Beverley Hills: Sage Publications 1976, p.185

b) ECA, Demographic Handbook for Africa, Addis Ababa, 1988 computed from table 8.

c) ILO, African Employment Report 1988, Addis Ababa: Jobs and Skills programme for Africa, 1989.

With respect to urban women, it has been found that their rates of unemployment are far higher than those of men. For instance, according to Table III the female/male unemployment ratios were 1.12 and 1.5 in Douala and Yaounde in 1976 and 1.6 in Bangui in 1976. 42)

Regarding the urban unemployment rate of the educated vis-a-vis the uneducated labour force, it has been established that the former have a higher rate compared with the latter. 43) For example in Addis Ababa, over 50 percent of the urban labour force in 1984 had acquired post-primary education and the unemployment rate of graduates of senior secondary schools was twice as high as that for the uneducated labour force. 44)

c Urban Under-employment

Underemployment is another dimension of the problem of labour surplus of African cities. The underemployed have been defined either as persons who are in employment of less than normal duration and are seeking or would accept additional work, and/or persons earning inadequate income. The phenomenon of underemployment is prevalent among urban workers who perform casual work and those who are self employed in family or other enterprises in the so-called informal sector. 45)

It has been suggested that the preferred sector of employment in urban areas is the formal or modern sector, because of its higher institutionally determined and more stable and reasonable employment conditions. However, due to the smallness of this sector and its relatively slow rate growth, it has been able to absorb in recent years, only a meagre percentage of the urban labour force in African countries. Accordingly, the burgeoning urban unemployed, migrants and native alike are increasingly resorting to the informal sector for employment.

Some writers have argued that employment in the informal sector is not without both private and social costs. In this context, Gugler, for example argues that African rural-urban migrants engaged in casual work or self employed in the unregulated urbarn sector are worse off than if they had stayed in or returned to the rural areas. 46)

In a study of Nairobi's informal sector, House estimated that 42 percent of the proprietors and about 50 percent of payees received less than the minimum wage. Among this group, a large proportion were underemployed. That is, they earned incomes that were definitely insufficient to procure basic household needs.47)

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42 Idem

43 Idem

44 ILO, African Employment Report 1988, Addis Ababa, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa (1989), pp 16 - 20

45 Ghazi M.Faroq, Population and Employment in Developing Countries (Geneva, ILO,1985)

46 J Gugler, "Migration to Urban centres of unemployment in Tropical Africa", in A H Richmond and D Kubats (eds.) Internal Migration : The New World and Third World. (London, Sage Publications, 1976)

47 W J House, "Nairobi's Informal Sector: Dynamic Entrepreneurs or Surplus Labour?" ,Economic Development and Cultural Change Vol.32 No. 2 (January 1984).

The exact magnitude of the portion of the informal sector characterized by underemployment is not known. But estimates by the ILO/JASPA of informal sector employment as a percentage of the labour force in selected African countries around the mid-1970s vary from 20 percent for Djibouti to 95 percent for urban areas in Benin - Table IV

Recent studies have concluded that the informal sector has experienced tremendous expansion in the 1980s in the face of slow creation of employment in the formal sector. 48) A concomitant increase must also have occurred in urban underemployment.

In spite of its seemingly undesirable characteristics, the informal sector employment appears to be the only viable option to a large number of urban employed because, among other things, it is self-reliant and labour intensive. 49)

d Overurbanization and Industrialization

The imbalances between the levels of urbanization and industrialization have been invoked in the past to evaluate the urban process in LDCs. It was pointed out that because urban population growth was accompanied by insignificant industrial development, unlike the experience of the now developed countries, the process of urbanization in LDCs was described as abnormal. This over-urbanization thesis was succinctly put forward by Hoselitz from studies which he had conducted comparing current industry/urban relations in LDCs to those in present developed countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 50)

Preston has re-evaluated this thesis by comparing regional estimates of the percentage of the industrial labour force and the urban population percentage for the period 1950 to 1970, using data compiled by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Population Division. He arrived at the conclusion that urban growth in developing countries had typically not been associated with a deterioration in the industry/urban ratio. Explicitly, the salient results relevant to this paper were that -

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48 ILO, African Employment Report, 1988, op.cit.

49 M Santos, The Share Space - the two circuits of the urban economy in underdeveloped countries. (London: Methuen, 1975)

50 B F Hoselitz, "Urbanization and Economic Growth in Asia", Economic Development and Cultural Change, 6 (October 1957) 42 - 44, and "The Role of Cities in the Economic Growth of under-developed countries" Journal of Political Economy, 61 (1953) 195 - 208.

(a) for the world as whole -barring China- the ratio of industrial to urban percentages increased;
(b) most of the developed regions in Latin America experienced a decline in the ratio;
(c) Middle South Asia, including India, experienced a rise of 29 percent;and
(d) Africa and the rest of Asia did not display any serious deviation from the rest of the LDCs. 51)

This section of the paper has drawn upon the same, but more recent sources, to reassess the industry/urban relationship for African countries for the period 1960 to 1980. 52) The results of the analysis are summarized in Table V.

This indicates two patterns for Africa- one for the North African subregion and the other for the sub-Saharan subregions. In the North Africa subregion as a whole the industry/urban ratio increased by 42 percent, from 0.342 to 0.519 between 1960 to 1980. All the countries there, with the exception of Libya, experienced raises in their industry/urban ratios.

On the other hand, all the other sub-regions - West, Central, East and Southern Africa- recorded declines in their ratios. Concentrating on the populous countries in these sub-regions: Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire, their weighted industry/urban ratio, as a group, declined from 0.64 in 1960 to 0.42 in 1980. This result buttresses the overall decline in the ratio for sub-Saharan African countries considered as a group. Such declines clearly show that the growth of urbanization far outplaced the growth in industrialization in 1960-1980 in Sub-Saharan Africa.

e. Urban primacy and social services

The excessive growth of a limited number of urban areas in the ECA region has created both quantitative and qualitative problems in the provision of housing and public utilities. 53)

Virtually in all capital cities there exist a housing shortage. In Nigeria, for example, there was a deficit of 3 million houses in urban areas in 1987. For Kenya the figure was 56,000 housing units. 54)

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51 S Preston, "Urban growth in developing countries. A demographic re-appraisal", Population and Development Review (June 1979) 195 - 215.

52 ILO, Economically Active Population, 1950 - 2025, Vol II Africa (Geneva 1980), and United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988 (forth-coming).

53 A, O'Connor, The African City. (London: Hutchinson University Libraries). 1983.

54 P.M. Syagga. "Myths and Realities of Low Cost Housing in Africa". African Urban Quarterly, (1987) p.205

Table VI provides useful information on the extent and general quality of the housing. In general the figures show that the bulk of the populations who reside in the main urban settlements live in inadequate housing, in terms of room densities and availability of minimum urban amenities.

A 1970 Nigerian government urban survey showed that 70 percent of the households in Lagos lived in one-roomed housing units. Similarly, 70 percent of the dwellings in Dar-es-Salaam consisted of one room. Such squalid slum conditions not only increase the likelihood of poor sanitation and disease but also the chances of infringement on personal privacy. 55)

Besides the slum conditions, characteristic of old inner city residential locations, the number of illegal spontaneous peri-urban settelements is on the increase. Their pervasive ubiquity is shown by the fact that nearly every subregional capital has a local name for them- for example, the musseques or conicods of Luanda and Maputo, the biddonvilles of Dakar, and the gourbivillas of Tunis. At least a fifth of the urbanites of the primate cities reside in these unauthorised settlements. There is, in addition to these malhoused urbanites, a rapidly growing contingent of vagabond pavement sleepers of no fixed abode, and about whom no census reports have been compiled.

Public utilities are insufficient and overstrecthed in the metropolitan areas of the ECA region. The government enquiry on Nigerian cities revealed that only 26 percent of the households in Kano had reticulated water. Similarly in the 1970s most houses in Dar-es-Salaam had neither water nor electricity. O'Connor has refered to a Zambian urban census which revealed that only 37 percent of Lusaka's dwellings had reticulated water and only 30 percent had electricity. 56) A worrisome trend is that the amount of these insufficient public utilities is declining relative to the increasing population in the incorporated high density areas and illegal spontaneous settlements.

Although less conspicuous, and faintly documented, the negative externalities of these urban concentrations in the form of land, air and water pollution can be hardly disputed. 57) Urban sprawl has also progressively encroached on valuable farm land.

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55 O'Connor, op.cit.

56 O'Connor, op.cit.

57 J.U.Obot, "Urban Development Planning and Enviror Mental Pollution in Africa : The Case of Calabar Municipality, Nigeria", African Urban Quarterly, 2(1987). pp 96-104.

Table IV : INFORMAL-SECTOR EMPLOYMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF LABOUR FORCE IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES, circa, MID- 1970s

Areas	%
Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire)	44
Nairobi (Kenya)	44
Kumasi (Ghana)	65
Congo (Urban areas)	55
Senegal (Urban areas)	50
Lagos (Nigeria)	50
Burkina Faso (Urban areas)	73
Banjul/Gambia (Urban areas)	42
Lome (Togo)	50
Benin (Urban areas)	95
Brazzaville (Congo)	37
Niger (Urban areas)	65
Djibouti	20
Rwanda	54
Lusaka (Zambia)	50

Source : ILO/JASPA, The Challenge of Employment and Basic Needs in Africa (Nairobi : Oxford University Press, 1986) P. 245.

Table V : THE INDUSTRY/URBAN RELATIONSHIP FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Sub-Region/Country	Industry/Urban Ratio 1960	1970	1980
NORTH AFRICA	.364	.438	.519
Algeria	.368	.438	.652
Egypt	.332	.390	.453
Morocco	.425	.491	.605
Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	.733	.700	.510
Sudan	1.015	1.039	1.086
Tunisia	.494	.582	.697
WEST AFRICA	.538	.446	.388
Benin	.437	.322	.236
Burkina Faso	.649	.640	.614
Cape Verde	1.725	.832	.535
Gambia	.387	.376	.373
Ghana	.597	.574	.579
Guinea	.576	.511	.471
Guinea Bissau	.140	.163	.149
Cote d'Ivoire	.192	.206	.222
Liberia	.104	.108	.116
Mali	.104	.106	.116
Mauritania	.306	.313	.335
Niger	.138	.135	.125
Nigeria	.698	.525	.430
Senegal	.166	.169	.179
Sierra Leone	.723	.682	.576
Togo	.827	.679	.614
CENTRAL AFRICA	.358	.333	.332
Burundi	.841	.977	.585
Cameroon U. Rep.	.266	.371	.238
Central Afr. Rep.	.086	.133	.166
Chad	.336	.285	.224
Congo	.329	.325	.319
Equatorial Guinea	.231	.212	.210
Gabon	.388	.363	.302
Rwanda	.896	.813	.590
Zaire	.359	.342	.377
EASTERN AFRICA	.575	.505	.435
Angola	.740	.563	.455
Comoros	.939	.407	.270
Ethiopia	.742	.686	.748
Kenya	.635	.539	.425
Madagascar	.358	.348	.315
Malawi	.580	.640	.763

Table V: (contd.)

Sub-Region/Country	Industry/Urban Ratio 1960	1970	1980
Mauritius	.774	.590	.564
Mozambique	1.324	1.079	.561
Seychelles			
Somalia	.324	.308	.291
Tanzania, U. Rep. of	.511	.455	.276
Uganda	.490	.430	.506
Zambia	.427	.283	.230
Zimbabwe	.563	.509	.477
SOUTHERN AFRICA			
Botswana	1.583	.536	.820
Lesotho	.647	.355	.298
Swaziland	1.026	.675	.447
Less Developed regions	.433	.478	.510
More developed regions	.573	.564	.520
Latin America	.426	.406	.395
South Asia	.609	.626	.593

Source : ILO, Economically Active Population, 1950-2025 Vol II Africa (Geneva, 1980); and United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988 (forthcoming)

Table VI : HOUSING ADEQUACY IN SELECTED AFRFICAN CITIES

Country	City	Year	% in inadequate housing
Kenya	Nairobi	1984	23
Zambia	Lusaka	1981	50
Tanzania	Dar es Salam	1981	65
Tunisia	Tunis	1975	33
Nigeria	Lagos	1975	83
	Ibadan	1970	75
Morocco	Casablanca	1971	70
Senegal	Dakar	1969	60
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	1968	90
Somalia	Mogadishu	1967	77
Cote d'Ivoire	Abidjan	1964	60

Source : Syagga, P.M. op.cit. p.205

VI POLICIES ON URBANIZATION

The rapid rates of growth and the disproportionate sizes of the largest cities of African countries have brought into focus the problems of urbanization in the region. To respond to some of these problems African governments have proposed urban policies in their national development plans. This section of the paper reviews and evaluates these urbanization policies. It begins with an examination of the urbanization policies of the Kilimanjaro Programme of Action on Population (KPA) and the Parliamentary conference on Population and Development in Africa held in Nairobi, Kenya.

Secondly, a review is made of the urbanization policies of seven African countries: Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

Thirdly, the major types of urbanization policies identified from the reviews are assessed.

A Inter-governmental Urbanization Policies

(a) The KPA : The KPA calls for a comprehensive urbanization policy whose objectives should include, among others, the reduction of current high migration to capital cities and other large urban centres, the development of regional medium-sized towns and the ensuring of effective inter-dependence between rural communities and urban areas. 62) Among the specific urban strategies the KPA recommended are the following:

(i) the stemming of the current flow of rural-to-urban migration;
(ii) the enhancement of the standard of living of rural areas; and
(iii) the up-grading of the conditions of slum areas of cities.

(b) The Parliamentary Conference in population and Development in Africa (PCPDA) 59)

The PCPDA identified the rate of urbanization as an important demographic problem and suggested that "everything should be done to reduce the high rates of urbanization in view of the intractable problems created by the influx of people into cities".

The following are the major measures the PCPDA proposed to tackle the problems of urbanization.

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58 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Kilimanjaro Programme of Action on Population. Second African Population Conference, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania. 9 - 13

59 The Parliamentary Conference on Population and Development in Africa: Conclusions and Recommendations, in Population and Development Review, Vol. 7. No. 4 (Dec. 1981) : pp. 721- 722.

(a) The creation of a number of medium-sized towns that will help to reduce the influx to the major cities, especially in countries with a primacy city situation;
(b) Creation of jobs in rural areas and small urban areas;
(c) Resettlement programmes;
(d) Changes in the location of educational institutions in the country-with emphasis from grammar-school type of secondary schools to comprehensive schools in rural areas.

The following subsection will briefly outline urbanization strategies for selected ECA member States with the view of subsequently assessing their development impact.

B National Policies on Urbanization 60)

1 Cameroon

The estimated population of Cameroon in 1988 was 11 million and the average annual rate of growth of the population was 2.6 percent in 1980 - 85. The level of urbanization was 42 percent during 1985 and the average annual rate of growth of the urban population was 6.74 percent between 1980 and 1985. The urban landscape of Cameroon, unlike that of many other African countries, is dominated by two rather than one primate city - Douala, the economic capital and Yaounde the political capital. At the time of the 1976 census the country's first modern count, Douala had a population of 458,000 and Yaounde, 314,000, and together comprised 39 percent of the total urban population of the Cameroon.

The government considers the current pattern of population distribution in particular the unbalanced population distribution between rural and urban areas as particularly inappropriate, with the growth of Douala perceived as too high. The regional development policies of the government are geared to the correction of the unbalanced population distribution. The sixth Plan, for example aims at: the balanced development of rural areas through the promotion of modernization, productive activities and human settelements in order to curb the rural exodus and the establishment of dynamic urban development consonant with effective industrial development. The Plan views urbanization as an irreversible phenomenon that will lead to socio-economic changes and that it will therefore be necessary to encourage complementarity between towns and the countryside.

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60 United Nations, World Population Policies, Vols. I and II (New York, 1987 and 1989) and E. M. Brennan and H. W. Richardson, "Urbanization and Urban Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa," African Urban Quarterly I (i) (Jan. 1986)

To reduce migration to Douala, the Fifth Plan proposed decentralization of the development industrial zones, with projects proposed for Yaounde, Ngaoundere, Bafonssan and Bonaberi.The Sixth Plan also proposes industrial and commerical decentralization to those coastal areas with economic development potential.

2 Cote d'Ivoire

The estimated population of Cote d'Ivoire in 1988 was 11.66 million with an average annual rate of growth of 3.65 percent in 1980-85. The level of urbanization was 42 percent in 1985 and the average annual rate of growth of the urban population was 6.13 percent in 1980 - 85. The primate city of the country is Abidjan, with an estimated population of 1.4 million in 1985.

The government perceives the current spatial distribution of population as inappropriate, especially the fast growth rate of Abidjan. A related issue of concern to the government is the problem of rural-to-urban migration which is resulting in the loss of needed manpower in the rural areas.

The focus of the government's urbanization strategy is the reduction of migration to Abidjan and other major cities. To achieve this objective, the 1976 - 80 Development Plan, for instance, proposed the creation of medium-sized towns, the modernization of agriculture as well as the decentralization of the economic and social activities of the government.

3 Egypt

The estimated population of Egypt, one of Africa's most populous countries, in 1988 was 52.5 million and the average annual rate of growth of the population was 2.44 percent between 1980 - 85. The level of urbanization was 46 percent in 1985 and the average annual rate of growth of the urban population was 6.13 percent between 1980 - 85. The country has a long history of urbanization and it has the most populous cities in Africa, including Cairo with a population of over 8 million in 1985. Another large city is Alexandria, with an estimated population of 3 million in 1985.

The Egyptian government considers the country's spatial distribution of population as being inappropriate. In particular the population expansion of Cairo and other urban centres such as Alexandria are perceived as too high. Concern has been expressed over the rapid rate of growth of these and other Egyptian cities as they are encroaching on agricultural land in the Nile Valley.

The official policy of the government on population distribution include the reversal of the rural-urban imbalance.As it affects urban development, the policy objective is mainly geared towards reducing the excessive population growth rates of Cairo, Alexandria and other urban areas. To this end new urban centres are being established and cultivated lands are also

being expanded. The intention is to divert migration away from the major cities to these new urban centres, new desert cities and the rural areas.

4 Kenya

The estimated population of Kenya in 1988 was 23 million. The country has one of the highest average annual rates of population growth in the world, estimated as 4.01 percent between 1980 - 85. The level of urbanization was 20 percent in 1985 and the average annual rate of growth of the urban population was 8.06 percent between 1980 - 85. The pattern of population distribution in Kenya is characterized by scattered rural homesteads, intermediate urban centres such as Kisumu, Nakara, El doret and Kakamega, periodic market towns and two large cities, Nairobi and Mombassa.

The government views the current urban distribution patterns as partially inappropriate. In particular, the following aspects of urban development are considered unfavourable : the growth of slums, the pressure of population on urban social services and the imbalance between urban and rural developments.

The spatial distribution redistribution policy of the government, as spelt out in the Third Development Plan (1974 - 78) and the Fourth Development Plan (1979 - 83),e.g, all have as their major objective the reduction of the rate of population growth to Nairobi and Mombassa, along with slowing down the pace of rural-to-urban migration. Small and medium urban centres are expected to play strategic roles in the spatial development programme by reducing population pressure in the countryside. They are in addition expected to relieve the bigger urban areas of congestion and increase the modernization spin-off which urban centres provide to the surrounding rural areas, and provide a better integration with the economy of the rural hinterland. Rural development is emphasised as one of the ways to reddress the urban/rural socio-economic imbalance.

5 Ethiopia

Ethiopia has a total land area of 1.24 million square kilometres and an estimated population of about 49 million in 1989 with an annual rate of growth of 2.5 percent between 1980 - 85. The level of urbanization in 1985 was 12 percent and the urban population grew at the rate of 3.68 percent in 1980 - 85. The 1984 population census shows that Ethiopia's urban structure is dominated by small-sized urban centres with populations of 10 000 and 20 000. At the top of the urban hierarchy are two cities, Addis Ababa and Asmara, whose 1984 populations were 1.4 million and 275 000 respectively. Addis Ababa's population was thus five times Asmara's and fourteen times Dire Dawa's in 1984.

The government considers the spatial distribution of the population as inappropriate, especially the primacy of Addis Ababa. In addition, the other population distribution problem consists of the concentration of a substantial majority of the

population in the highlands which has led to excessive pressure on the land, with land fragmentation as one of the results.

Consequently plans have been made to correct spatial imbalances. With reference to urban areas they include the development of other smaller-sized urban localities in order to reduce the pressure on Addis Ababa and Asmara and the promotion of integrated rural development programmes. The government's villagization programme which has as its objectives the resettlement of the house-holds of scattered rural settlements into compact and larger viable villages should have an indirect effect on rural-to-urban movement.

6 Nigeria

The estimated population of Nigeria in 1988 was 105 million, registering an annual average rate of growth of 3.34 percent between 1980 - 85. The level of urbanization was estimated as 31 percent in 1985 and the average annual rate of growth of the urban population was 6.07 percent between 1980 - 85. Among the large cities in Nigeria are Lagos (estimated population in 1988, approximately 4 million) the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa and Ibadan (estimated population in 1988, approximately 2 million). The country has over twenty localities whose estimated populations range from 1 600 thousand to 2 000 thousand in 1984.

At the time of the Fifth Inquiry, the government perceived the pattern of population distribution as inappropriate and was of the opinion that rapid urbanization contributed to urban unemployment and the deterioration of urban amenities. The government has formulated an explicit population policy which has as one of its objectives the tackling of the country's spatial distribution problems and that of the high rate of urban population growth. The common integrated programme of urban and rural development,include self-sufficiency in food production, maintaining a balance in the distribution of economic activities and social services between urban and rural areas and improving the rural primary health care system.

To reduce population pressure on the capital Lagos (whose population has grown at an annual average rate of 7.4 percent from 627 thousand at the time of the 1963 census, to an estimated 4 million in 1988) and other overcrowded coastal cities in 1988, the government has embarked on the creation of a new capital, Abuja, in the middle of the country. During its original planning, the new capital's population was projected at 250 thousand in 1987 and was expected to reach 1.5 million by 2000. However, the growth of Abuja, due to a number of problems including slow pace of construction, has lagged behind this target. For instance, by the mid 1980s the city's population had grown to only about 15 000 and the transfer of only two government ministries from over congested Lagos,had been achieved.

7 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe had an estimated population of 9 million in 1988 with an average rate of growth of 3.03 percent between 1980 - 85. The level of urbanization in 1985 was 25 percent and the average annual rate of growth of the urban population was 5.34 percent between 1980 and 85. The three largest urban localities in 1982 were Harare, Bulawayo and Chitungwiza, whose populations were 656 000, 414 000 and 173 000 respectively.

The government has expressed dissatisfaction with the growth of Harare and Bulawayo in recent years. To counteract rural-to-urban migration to these cities, a development programme has been instituted since independence aimed at redistributing some of the former European land to African families. Also the thrust of the urban development strategies is on the decentralization of economic activities away from Harare and Bulawayo to other parts of the country. The creation of growth poles have also been advocated. Before independence, the European area, which occupied the best lands were earmarked as the location of these growth poles, but since independence they are being located throughout the country, especially in communal lands.

Other policies by the government which have an impact on the rate of growth of urban areas include the introduction of minimum wage legislation, which has benefited farm and domestic workers.

c An Assessment of Urbanization Policies in Africa

From the overview on selected national and inter-governmental urbanization policies, one important conclusion to emerge is that nearly all the governments have expressed the desire of reducing the population pressure on their major, invariably, primate cities.

Specifically the three main strategies that have been experimented by African governments to reduce the pressure of population on metropolitan cities include:

(a) Closing the urban-rural gap;
(b) The development of medium-sized towns and/or growth poles;and
(c) Integrated rural development programmes.

These policies are examined at length below :

1. Closing the urban-rural gap

Marked disparities in the distribution of real incomes and other resources have been identified as among the major determinants of rural-urban migration in African countries. Economists such as Todaro and Frank who had conducted research on migration and employment remarked about the marked and widening rural-urban gap in African countries in the early 1970s. 61)

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61 M. P. Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries (Geneva : ILO, 1976) ; and ILO, Rural-Urban Gap and Income Distribution : Synthesis Report of 17 African Countries. (Addis Ababa : Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, 1984)

Also a study by the ILO on six sub-Saharan African countries Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria,Tanzania,Sierra Leone and Somalia-for the period between the late 1970s and early 1980s established that the rural-urban gap was large. This study estimated that employment in agriculture commanded an income only one-quarter as high as that in the non-agricultural sector. High urban and low rural wage levels along with exploitative taxes on agricultural export crops have been identified as the main factors for the rural-urban gap.

It should be recalled that one of the economic explanations of rural-to-urban migration is based on the inflexibility downwards of high urban wages vis-a-vis low rural wages.

Consequently, it has been argued that the closing of the rural-urban gap is one of the effective indirect methods of reducing rural-to-urban migration. In this connection, two policy measures experimented with in African countries, one involving the introduction of minimum wage rates, and the other, pertaining to the improvement of agricultural producer prices, both aimed at boosting rural incomes are reviewed for their impact on urban in-migration.

a. Minimum Wage Legislation

In Tanzania and Zimbabwe, minimum wage legislations have been experimented with. The legislation introduced in Tanzania in 1967-1974 had as one of its objectives the reduction of urban in-migration. A similar legislation promulgated in Zimbabwe soon after independence in 1980 had a similar objective. Both legislations failed to curb urban in-migration. In Tanzania, the reason was related to the inability to coordinate agricultural and income policies leading to smuggling of agricultural commodities to Kenya. In Zimbabwe, although the measure ameliorated the incomes of farm, domestic and other rural workers, it benefited more urban-based industrialists, who reduced wages paid to some of their workers because the minimum wage was lower than wages they previously paid. This is because the minimum wage level has often constituted the "floor" in urban industries, but the "ceiling" in rural areas.

(b) Pricing policies for agricultural commodities

Agricultural export taxes have been imposed in African countries, especially on labour-intensive primary products. It has been noted that these taxes have often adversely affected rural development by, for example reducing the incentive to expand production of the crops. They have also encouraged rural out-migration.

It has been therefore been argued that an important strategy to ameliorate the incomes of rural residents and diminish rural-to-urban migration is to pay farmers reasonable prices for their crops. This viewpoint has been well articulated by Colvin: "The greatest single step that could improve the situation of rural resident and diminish his need to migrate is an increase in the price of his crops...." 62)

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62 L. G. Colvin, The uprooted of the Western Sahel:Migrants' Quest for Senegambia, (New York: Praeger, 1981)

However, others have pointed that this strategy usually achieves its objective of stemming rural out-migration mainly in rural areas where the bulk of the farming community,as opposed to a minority of large-scale farmers, market a sizeable proportion of their products. Therefore, the impact of this strategy on rural out-migration is also not unambigously positive.

2) The development of medium-sized towns or growth centres

Another strategy that has been proposed by African planners to reduce the pressure of population on larger urban centres especially primate cities is the development of medium-sized towns and/or growth centres. The growth of primate cities in African countries, at the one extreme of the spatial landscape, and small urban and rural localities at other end, have tended to create a vacuum at the middle. The development of medium-sized town and/or growth centres by a policy of decentralization of industries and socio-economic infrastructure which attempts to fill in this vacuum aims at creating a link between urban and rural areas and reducing population pressure on the larger urban centres. Mabogunje has conceptualized the core issue as involving "the creation of all over the rural areas within reasonable distance of a diversified economy offering considerable incentives and varied employment opportunities to masses of the population, and in consequence removing the pressure from the few metropolitan centres." 63) The theoretical under-pinning of this policy is that of "growth poles". Evaluation of the migration consequences of the strategy is rare.

An important ingredient for the success of this strategy is the infussion of substantial capital over long periods to provide the much needed technical and administrative skill needed for effective implementation of the programme.

That the gestation period for the creation of successful medium-sized towns or growth centres could be lengthy is illustrated by the current problem of the Nigerian Government in completing the construction of the new Federal capital, Abuja, despite the initial boost provided by oil revenue at the beginning of the project.

Another example, this time of plans for the development of medium-sized and/or larger rural centres, is the case of Kenya. Here, for sometime now the Department of planning has been trying, within the framework of the regional development plans to create rural growth centres geared towards the establishment of rural industries. The long-term objective of the strategy is to provide alternative nuclei of future growth and activities which should counteract population growth of Nairobi and Mombassa by migration. Explicitly, the 1970-74 Development Plan of Kenya, for example, envisaged the designed rural growth centres to act as "foci of trade, social services and communication which serve the surrounding farm area and can significantly alter the pattern of migration and provide more even development of the nation as a whole".

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63 Mabogunje , Idem

The two main shortcomings of this strategy which have affected their effectiveness in reducing migration are that the centres were chosen not on the basis that they form a national spatial strategy but rather on indivudual merit. Also too many centres were chosen taking into account the lack of resources and finance for effective implementation.

On a general note, Richardson, from the evaluation of the Kenyan strategy opines that for IDCs, a rational growth centre policy involves designation of different levels of centres within an overall national urban strategy rather than choosing a number of centres and giving them equal attention. 64)

A related issue in this connection is the debate about the convergence and divergence of polarization. Some regional economists have regarded concentration of socio-economic resources in a few large urban centres as necessary in the early stages of national economic development. Alonso has for instance noted that,

> polarization, regional inequality, or primacy are normal aspects of the early stages of development, corrected by natural processes (a form of negative feedback) with the achievement of development. Primacy, overurbanization and gigantism are not diseases but growing pains. 65)

Harvey has strongly refuted these sentiments by noting that increasing primacy and expected "trickle down" effects of growth in the periphery have not occurred.

Basing his observations on empirical studies which have been conducted on Africa, Harvey is also of the opinion that an equilibrium model cannot work in Africa, because "disequilibrium is built into traditional societies from the start and thus convergence will not occur in the course of a nation's development history". 66)

deSouza and Porter have thus truly remarked,

> Through the mechanism of deviations amplification, differences between core areas of the space economy and the periphery increase unremittingly. 67)

Darkoh has noted that concentration of manufacturing in existing urban areas in Ghana has failed to trigger the growth of their relatively less developed tributary areas. 68)

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64 Richardson, idem

65 W ALonso, "Urban and Regional Imbalances in Economic Development and Cultural Change. Vol. 17 (1968). pp 1 - 14

66 M E Harvey, "Urban Economic Development" in C G Knight and J L Newmann (eds.), op.cit. p.303.

67 A R de Souza and R W Porter, "The Underdevelopment and modernization of the Third World", Association of American Geographers Commission on College Geography. Resource Paper No. 28. Washington, DC (1974) p. 46.

68 M B K Darkoh, "The Distribution of Manufacturing in Ghana: A Case Study of Industrial Location in a Developing Country", Scottish Geographical Magazine, 87 (1971) pp 38 - 57.

3 Integrated Rural Development Programmes

Integrated rural development programmes have been another prominent feature of current African development strategies in recent years (see Table VII). They include a mix of activities such as, supported land reform projects, supervised credit for farmers, labour intensive agricultural innovations and the establishment of physical infrastructure and social services. In addition to the objective of increasing incomes and productivity, some IRDPs also strive to enhance equitable distribution of income and employment opportunities as well as influencing the patterns of rural-to-urban migration.

Given the many components and diversity of the objectives of IRDPs, their evaluation for influencing migration is difficult (see Table VIII). It appears however, that they do not generally succeed in reducing rural out-migration. For example, an evaluation of 15 types of rural development strategies established that 11 would have indeterminate consequences, with a few accelerating rather than slowing down out-migration. 69)

In this connection, the potential migration impact of three types of rural development activities drawing from theoretical and empirical studies are summarized in table VIII. The evidence indicates that for these activities-land reform;agricultural services, credit and technical assistance; and rural social services and education-the short-and long-term impacts on urban in-migration are equivocal.

Anie has done a review of rural development programmes of Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania and Nigeria, with emphasis on Ghana. Overall, she concluded that the programmes failed to influence rural-urban migration mainly because they were not focused on the rural population. With reference to Ghana, she noted that the failure of the programmes were due to a combination of factors: undue emphasis on the enhancement of economic gains; the absence of specific plans proposed and implemented for rural development; their ad hoc nature; and fragmentation of the authorities responsible for implementation. She notes that only effective rural development programmes directed at the rural population, with the involvement of the rural population in decision making and implementation could improve the quality of life of the rural population and curb rural exodus. 70)

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69 S. E. Findley, "Rural development programmes: planned versus actual migration outcomes", In UN, Population DIstribution Policies in Development Planning. ST/SER 1/ 75. New York, 1975.

70 Margaret Anie, "Rural Development as a Means of Controlling Rural-Urban Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa with Particular Reference to Ghana". A Research Seminar Paper submitted to the University of Ghana in partial fulfilment for the Gradual Diploma in Population, 1985.

TABLE VII

RURAL-ORIENTED STRATEGIES OF SELECTED AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Country (year of Plan)	Type of Policy
Cameroon (1981 -86)	- Coordination of rural development programmes - Rational exploitation of land resources - Harnessing the country's water resources
Cote d'Ivoire (1976 -80)	- Regional planning strategies - Concentration of resources in limited number of growth poles - Enhancement of the employment and income position of rural areas
Kenya (1979 - 80)	- The promotion of the productions of the land - Encouragement of the development of growth poles
Tanzania (1976 - 81)	- Strengthening the economic and social basis of nucleated (Ujaama) villages

Sources : Cameroon : The Fifth Five-year Economic, Social and Development Plan, 1981 - 85;

Cote d'Ivoire : Five-year Plan of Economic, Social and Cultural Development, 1976 - 80;

Kenya : Development Plan 1979 - 83;

Tanzania : The Third Five-year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1976 - 81.

Table VIII: MIGRATION CONSEQUENCES OF SELECTED RURAL ORIENTATION DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Development activity	Possible Effects on rural population	Impact on migration	
		Short run	Long run
Land reform	Increased rural production income, social change; demand for urban goods and services	Moderate slowing	mixed
Agricultural services; credit and tecnical assistance	Increased income for large farmers; commercialisation and modernity of agriculture; increased exclusion of small farmers.	mixed	weak acceleration
Rural Social services and education	Increased modern urban skills and attitudes	weak	Very strong acceleration

Source : " Migration, population growth and development" Population Reports, Series M. No. 7 September-October 1983; and R. Rhoda, "Rural development and urban migration : Can we keep them down on farm? International Migration Review 17(1), Spring 1983.

Capital intensive agricultural development schemes are among the common types of IRDPs in African countries. Three are examined for their impact of migration.71)

A banana cultivation project in Senegal which succeeded in ameliorating rural incomes, encouraged out-migration, because the higher earnings of the participants enabled them to send their children to urban areas.

On the other part, another project, the ZAPI de L'est, in Cameroon, devoted to the development of cocoa and coffee, and later, the provision of women's credit and health facilities along with enhancing food production facilities, appears to have led to a decrease in rural-to-urban migration.

In Kenya, the Vihiga special rural development project, which comprised of a number of activities including the reduction of rural out-migration, failed in its objective of stemming rural migration for a number of reasons, including mainly lack of co-ordination, the granting of credit to persons who did not need them, and the distribution of income gains mainly in favour of the bigger farmers.

One reason for the limited success of IRDPs in reducing rural out-migration is that in planning and implementing the programmes adequate information is not usually available on the relevant population subgroups, for example, those prone to migrate. In this connection, Findley has suggested that rural development projects are more likely to promote other types of mobility, for instance, comuting or migration to other medium-sized urban centres than in stemming rural out-migration per se. 72)

VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted an analysis of the patterns, causes and consequences of urbanization in Africa. Urban policy measures were also reviewed.

From a global perspective Africa's level of urbanization is the lowest, comparable only to East and South Asia. On the other hand, its rate of urban population growth is the highest in the world.

Among the ECA member states, variations in patterns of urbanization exist. These variations reflect subregional and national differences in urban industrial development, histories of urbanization, geographical distribution of resources and cultures.

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71 S E Findley, "Rural development programmes : planned versus actual migration outcomes", in UN, Population Distribution Policies in Development Planning. ST/SER.a/75. New York, 1975.

72 Idem

The study has shown that the excessive growth of one or two main cities in each country has had abnormal and negative consequences on overall national development. This is because primate cities create polarization and spatial imbalances as well as intrametropolitan problems such as unemployment, under-employment, shortage of housing, overstrained social services and pollution.

To solve their current urban related problems African countries require not only sound urban policies, but also effective regional development and rural development strategies.

The study outlined and examined both inter-governmental and national policies on urbanization. Currently these face several operational problems and this therefore places their chances of success at risk. Firstly, there is the problem of inadequate, unreliable and outdated baseline data. Secondly, most of the countries lack staff with necessary qualifications to plan, implement, monitor and evaluate the policies. Thirdly, the depressed nature of the national economies has deprived these countries of the investment resource base required for either the establishment or rehabilitation of productive employment creating sectors.

Sound urban policies should take into consideration effective management of revenue systems, forward planning to accommodate and resolve population pressure on socioeconomic infrastructure. Such policies should also include cost effective methods of providing social services coupled with enforced recovery systems to ensure their viability. To ensure equitable distribution and maximize the impact of social services, due consideration should be given to their affordability, especially housing.

The problems of urban primacy have led African countries to adopt regional development strategies based on growth centre strategies. These have involved either urban devolution by way of creating new capital cities or several medium sized cities. The creation of small, intermediate sized cities to divert rural-urban migrants has not been effective. This lack of success derives mainly from the fact that such centres are intended functionally to be miniature replications of the major urban centres. What is required are development centres whose activities are complementary to those of the natural regions in which they are implanted.

Another ingredient of urbanization policies considered in the paper were integrated rural development programmes (IRDPs) which have as one of their objectives the stemming of rural-to-urban migration. Their impact in this respect has been mixed because of reasons such as the ad hoc nature of the projects, the multiplicity of agencies involved in their implementations and limited knowledge of the characteristics of rural-urban migrant/non-migrant populations. In any case it should be noted that while IRDPs serve other commendable objectives, it is gradually being accepted "that keeping rural population on the farm is an inappropriate goal " 73) for such schemes.

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73 idem

Table A.1

PROPORTION URBAN, MAJOR AREAS AND REGIONS OF THE WORLD

	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	2000
World total	34.1	37.2	39.8	41.2	42.7	46.7
More developed Regions	60.5	66.6	70.2	71.5	72.7	74.8
Less developed Regions	22.1	25.5	29.3	31.5	33.9	39.5
Africa	18.3	22.9	28.0	31.1	34.5	41.3
ECA member states	20.7	25.4	29.4	31.9	34.8	41.1
Eastern & Soutern Africa	7.6	10.9	16.1	19.6	23.6	31.6
Middle Africa	16.4	22.3	28.5	32.0	35.6	42.7
Northern Africa	30.0	36.0	39.9	41.9	44.3	49.9
Western Africa	14.4	19.6	25.9	29.4	33.1	40.7
Latin America	49.3	57.3	65.4	69.2	72.3	77.2
Northern America	69.9	73.8	73.9	74.1	74.3	75.0
East Asia	25.0	26.9	28.1	28.6	29.4	32.6
South Asia	17.3	19.5	23.2	25.3	27.8	33.8
Europe	60.9	66.7	70.3	71.7	73.1	76.0
Oceania	66.3	70.8	71.5	71.1	70.9	71.0
U S S R	48.8	56.7	63.1	65.6	67.5	70.7

Source United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988 (Forthcoming)

Table A. II RATES OF GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN MAJOR AREAS AND REGIONS OF THE WORLD

	1965/70	1970/75	1975/80	1980/85	1985/90	1990/95	1995/2000
World total	2.79	2.65	2.41	2.42	2.47	2.55	2.55
More developed Regions	1.85	1.52	1.14	1.01	0.84	o.80	0.72
Less developed Regions	3.81	3.76	3.52	3.51	3.57	3.58	3.49
Africa	4.72	4.72	5.00	5.06	5.04	4.90	4.68
E C A member States	5.02	4.90	5.25	5.25	5.24	5.08	4.84
Eastern and Southern Africa	6.28	6.39	7.22	6.91	6.79	6.38	5.88
Middle Africa	5.15	4.96	5.38	5.21	5.12	4.96	4.72
Northern Africa	3.93	3.51	3.76	3.83	3.84	3.70	3.51
Western Africa	5.90	5.89	5.82	5.75	5.65	5.47	5.21
Latin America	4.01	3.87	3.55	3.30	2.99	2.67	2.36
Northern America	1.63	1.07	1.07	1.05	0.88	0.81	0.72
East Asia	2.85	2.60	1.78	1.56	1.87	2.14	2.30
South Asia	3.88	4.14	3.88	3.96	3.88	3.83	3.67
Europe	1.53	1.22	0.87	0.72	0.62	0.62	0.59
Oceania	2.62	2.05	1.42	1.44	1.38	1.31	1.33
U S S R	2.59	2.09	1.81	1.64	1.36	1.22	1.01

Source : United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988 (Forthcoming)

Table A. III : PROPORTION OF POPULATION LIVING IN URBAN AREAS IN ECA MEMBER STATES AND MAJOR DEVELOPING REGIONS, 1960-2000

Country/Subregion	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	2000
Northern Africa	30.0	36.0	39.9	41.9	44.3	49.9
Algeria	30.4	39.5	41.2	42.6	44.7	50.7
Egypt	37.9	42.2	44.7	46.5	48.8	54.8
Morocco	29.3	34.6	41.3	44.8	48.5	55.8
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	22.7	35.8	56.6	56.5	70.2	76.1
Sudan	10.3	16.4	19.7	20.6	22.0	26.5
Tunisia	36.0	43.5	52.2	53.0	54.3	58.6
Western Africa	14.4	19.6	25.9	29.4	33.1	40.7
Benin	9.5	16.0	28.2	35.2	42.0	52.8
Burkina Faso	4.7	5.7	7.0	7.9	9.0	12.4
Cape Verde	6.7	18.8	42.4	53.3	61.5	69.6
Cote d'Ivoire	19.3	27.4	37.1	42.0	46.6	54.6
Gambia	12.4	15.0	18.1	20.1	22.5	28.7
Ghana	23.3	29.0	30.7	31.5	33.0	37.9
Guinea	9.9	13.8	19.1	22.2	25.6	33.2
Guinea Bissau	13.6	18.1	23.8	27.1	30.8	38.6
Liberia	18.6	26.0	34.9	39.5	44.0	52.1
Mali	11.1	14.3	17.3	18.0	19.2	23.2
Mauritania	6.7	13.9	26.9	34.6	42.1	53.6
Niger	5.8	8.5	13.2	16.2	19.5	26.8
Nigeria	14.4	20.0	27.1	31.0	35.2	43.3
Senegal	31.9	33.4	34.9	36.4	38.4	44.5
Sierra Leone	13.0	18.1	24.5	28.3	32.2	40.2
Togo	9.8	13.1	18.8	22.1	25.7	33.4
Central Africa	16.40	22.27	28.47	31.96	35.55	42.68
Burundi	2.2	2.2	4.1	5.6	7.3	11.5
Cameroon	13.9	20.3	34.7	42.4	49.4	59.9
Central African Republic	22.7	30.4	38.2	42.4	46.6	54.5
Chad	7.0	11.4	20.8	27.0	33.3	44.3
Congo	33.0	34.8	37.3	39.5	42.2	44.5

Table A. III : PROPORTION OF POPULATION LIVING IN URBAN AREAS IN ECA MEMBER STATES AND MAJOR DEVELOPING REGIONS, 1960-2000
(continuation)

Country/Subregion	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	2000
Equatorial Guinea	25.5	39.9	53.7	59.7	64.5	70.9
Gabon	17.4	25.6	35.8	40.9	47.7	53.8
Rwanda	2.4	3.2	5.0	6.2	7.7	11.4
Sao Tome and Principe	16.0	23.4	32.7	37.6	42.3	50.5
Zaire	22.3	30.3	34.2	36.6	39.5	46.4
East and Southern Africa	7.64	10.88	16.07	19.62	23.62	31.61
Angola	10.4	15.0	21.0	24.5	28.3	36.2
Botswana	1.8	8.4	15.3	19.2	23.6	32.9
Comoros	4.1	11.3	23.2	25.2	27.6	33.8
Djibouti	49.6	62.0	73.7	77.7	80.9	84.3
Ethiopia	6.4	8.6	10.5	11.6	12.9	16.8
Kenya	7.4	10.3	16.1	19.7	23.6	31.8
Lesotho	3.4	8.6	13.6	16.7	20.3	27.9
Madagascar	10.6	14.1	18.9	21.8	25.0	32.4
Malawi	4.4	6.0	9.7	12.0	14.8	21.0
Mauritius	33.2	42.0	42.9	42.2	42.3	45.5
Mozambique	3.7	5.7	13.1	19.4	26.8	41.1
Seychelles	25.4	26.0	42.8	51.8	59.3	69.2
Somalia	17.3	22.7	28.9	32.5	36.4	44.3
Swaziland	3.9	9.7	19.8	26.3	33.1	44.5
Tanzania	4.7	6.7	16.5	24.4	32.8	46.5
Uganda	5.1	8.0	8.7	9.4	10.4	13.8
Zambia	17.2	30.4	42.8	49.5	55.6	65.3
Zimbabwe	12.6	16.9	21.9	24.6	27.6	34.6
ECA Member States	20.7	25.36	29.37	31.87	34.76	41.13
Africa	18.3	22.9	28.0	31.1	34.5	41.3
Latin America	49.3	57.3	65.4	69.2	72.3	77.2
Asia	21.5	23.9	26.6	28.1	29.9	35.0
World total	34.1	37.2	39.8	41.2	42.7	46.7

Source : United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988 (Forthcoming)

Table A. IV: AVERAGE RATE OF GROWTH OF URBANIZATION AND OF TOTAL URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION BY REGION OR AREA, 1970-2025

(percentage per year)

Region or area		1970 -1975	1975 -1980	1980 -1985	1985 -1990	1990 -1995	1995 -2000	2000 -2005	2005 -2010	2010 -2015	2015 -2020	2020 -2025
World total	Total	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.0
	Urbanization	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9
	Urban	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.1	1.9
	Rural	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.2	-0.0	-0.2	-0.4
More developed regions	Total	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
	Urbanization	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
	Urban	1.5	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
	Rural	-0.5	-0.2	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2
Less developed regions	total	2.4	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.1
	Urbanization	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.2
	Urban	3.7	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.3
	Rural	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.2	0.0	-0.2	-0.4
A. African	Total	2.7	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.2	1.9
	Urbanization	1.7	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.2
	Urban	4.4	4.8	4.8	4.9	4.8	4.7	4.5	4.3	3.9	3.5	3.1
	Rural	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.3	0.9	0.6
1. Eastern Africa	Total	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.8	2.4	2.1
	Urbanization	3.5	4.1	3.6	3.4	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.5
	Urban	6.5	7.2	6.8	6.6	6.3	6.0	5.6	5.2	4.7	4.1	3.6
	Rural	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.2	0.9

Table A. IV: AVERAGE RATE OF GROWTH OF URBANIZATION AND OF TOTAL URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION BY REGION OR AREA, 1970-2025

(percentage per year)
(continuation)

2. Middle Africa	Total	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.2	1.9
	Urbanization	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.0
	Urban	5.0	5.2	5.1	5.0	4.9	4.7	4.4	4.1	3.7	3.3	2.9
	Rural	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.2
3. Nortehrn Africa	Total	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.3
	Urbanization	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9
	Urban	3.3	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.2	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.2
	Rural	1.9	2.2	1.9	1.7	1.3	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.1	-0.1	-0.3
4. Soutern Africa	Total	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.1	1.9	1.6
	Urbanization	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6
	Urban	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.3
	Rural	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.3	-0.0

Source : United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1987

Table A. V : RATES OF GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN ECA MEMBER STATES AND MAJOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Country/Subregion	1965/70	1970/75	1975/80	1980/85	1985/90	1990/95	1995/2000
Northern Africa	3.93	3.51	3.76	3.83	3.84	3.70	3.51
Nigeria	3.82	3.48	3.47	3.71	4.08	4.06	3.85
Egypt	3.09	2.45	3.26	3.51	3.52	3.35	3.17
Libya	10.32	9.50	8.18	6.96	5.35	4.67	4.12
Morocco	4.41	4.23	4.01	4.28	4.12	3.82	3.42
Sudan	6.85	5.72	3.98	3.99	4.18	4.57	4.88
Tunisia	3.96	3.63	4.42	2.87	2.86	2.66	2.53
Western Africa	5.90	5.89	5.82	5.75	5.65	5.47	5.21
Benin	8.90	8.22	8.22	7.41	6.66	5.89	5.20
Burkina Faso	4.14	4.06	4.26	4.84	5.37	5.86	6.24
Cape Verde	13.67	10.31	7.69	6.74	5.61	4.79	3.91
Cote d'Ivoire	7.46	7.28	7.03	6.63	6.21	5.65	5.24
Gambia	4.78	5.24	4.96	5.06	5.08	5.11	5.03
Ghana	4.00	3.22	2.32	4.14	4.06	4.35	4.55
Guinea	5.26	5.24	5.32	5.38	5.36	5.23	5.04
Guinea Bissau	2.88	6.29	7.75	4.55	4.60	4.62	4.56
Liberia	6.11	6.07	5.88	5.69	5.33	5.09	4.81
Mali	4.70	4.52	3.48	3.60	4.20	4.71	5.12
Mauritania	9.42	9.16	8.77	7.66	6.62	5.66	4.85
Niger	6.55	6.81	6.93	6.87	6.74	6.50	6.19
Nigeria	6.48	6.47	6.43	6.07	5.92	5.68	5.33
Senegal	3.34	3.93	3.90	3.34	3.79	4.10	4.26
Sierra Leone	5.02	5.09	5.14	5.13	5.09	4.95	4.76
Togo	7.26	5.84	6.01	6.23	6.12	5.88	5.60
Middle Africa	5.15	4.96	5.38	5.21	5.12	4.96	4.72
Burundi	1.45	7.59	8.37	8.83	8.30	7.71	7.10
Cameroon	6.38	7.90	7.65	6.74	5.68	4.97	4.36
Central African Rep.	4.21	4.22	4.45	4.35	4.34	4.21	4.06
Chad	6.65	7.80	8.35	7.50	6.68	5.81	5.01

Table A. V : RATES OF GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN ECA MEMBER STATES AND MAJOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Country/Subregion	1965/70	1970/75	1975/80	1980/85	1985/90	1990/95	1995/2000
Congo	2.71	2.89	3.30	3.72	4.09	4.30	4.45
Equatorial Guinea	5.59	5.36	4.79	4.28	3.91	3.53	3.20
Gabon	4.14	8.24	7.81	6.68	5.68	5.11	4.65
Rwanda	6.01	7.74	7.75	7.70	7.60	7.45	7.17
Sao Tome and Principe	5.16	5.12	4.39	5.45	5.14	4.82	4.49
Zaire	5.09	4.02	4.46	4.41	4.67	4.80	4.73
East & Southern Africa	6.28	6.39	7.22	6.91	6.79	6.38	5.88
Angola	5.10	6.56	6.69	5.61	5.57	5.41	5.15
Botswana	17.95	10.92	8.34	8.17	7.61	7.04	6.37
Comoros	20.41	16.10	5.10	4.71	4.95	5.11	5.16
Djibouti	10.06	9.25	5.94	4.15	3.71	3.55	3.43
Ethiopia	4.94	4.26	4.40	3.68	4.26	5.18	5.50
Kenya	6.89	8.10	8.20	8.06	7.84	7.30	6.72
Lesotho	7.98	6.86	6.96	6.98	6.67	6.27	5.80
Madagascar	5.02	5.28	5.81	5.92	5.97	5.90	5.76
Malawi	6.80	7.74	7.67	7.56	7.38	7.05	6.60
Mauritius	4.38	1.24	1.56	1.25	1.34	1.73	2.06
Mozambique	6.76	10.54	11.22	10.39	9.03	7.63	6.28
Seychelles	2.76	6.99	6.41	4.45	3.71	2.76	2.02
Somalia	4.86	4.95	7.48	5.92	5.55	4.44	4.73
Swaziland	10.55	10.11	10.04	9.02	7.98	6.90	5.98
Uganda	8.09	3.55	4.12	4.82	5.53	6.10	6.57
Tanzania	7.92	11.44	13.27	11.60	9.59	7.91	6.46
Zambia	8.24	6.49	6.66	6.90	6.09	5.52	5.02
Zimbabwe	6.48	5.88	5.34	5.32	5.47	5.40	5.15
ECA member States	5.02	4.90	5.25	5.25	5.24	5.08	4.84
Africa	4.72	4.72	5.00	5.04	5.04	4.90	4.68
Latin America	4.01	3.87	3.55	3.30	2.99	2.67	2.36
Asia	3.35	3.38	2.90	2.93	3.11	3.27	3.30
World total	2.79	2.65	2.41	2.42	2.47	2.55	2.55

Source : United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988 (forthcoming)

Table A. VI : DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN SELECTED PRIMATE CITIES AND THE POPULATION OF PRIMATE CITY AS A PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

ECA MEMBER STATES

Country	City	Year	Population (in thousands)	Percentage of national population
NORTHERN AFRICA				
Algeria	Algiers	1977	1.448	8.6
Egypt	Cairo.	1976	5.084	13.8
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	Tripoli	1964	214	13.6
Morocco	Casablanca	1971	1.506	9.2
Tunisia	Tunis	1975	550	9.8
WESTERN AFRICA				
Benin	Cotonou	1979	320	9.6
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	1983	307	3.9
Cape Verde	Praia	1980	58a	20.6
Cote d'Ivoire	Abidjan	1975	951	14.2
Gambia	Serekunde	1983	68	10.0
Ghana	Accra	1984	860	7.0
Liberia	Monrovia	1970	96	6.3
Mali	Bamako	1976	327	5.2
Mauritania	Nouakchott	1977	139a	9.9
Niger	Niamey	1975	130	2.3
Nigeria	Lagos	1963	665a	1.2
Senegal	Dakar	1976	799	16.0
Sierra Leone	Freetown	1985	470	13.4
Togo	Lome	1981	370	13.6
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Angola	Luanda	1970	475a	8.4
Cameroon	Douala	1976	458	6.0
Central African Republic	Bangui	1975	301	14.6
Chad	Ndjamena	1972	179	4.7
Congo	Brazzaville	1985	456	24.5
Equatorial Guinea	Malabo	1960	37	15.1
Zaire	Kinshasa	1984	2,654	

Table A. VI : DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN SELECTED PRIMATE CITIES AND THE POPULATION OF PRIMATE CITY AS A PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION ECA MEMBER STATES
(continuation)

EASTERN AFRICA				
Burundi	Bujumbura	1979	162a	4.0
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	1984	1,413	3.4
Kenya	Nairobi	1979	828	5.4
Madagascar	Antananarivo	1975	406	5.3
Malawi	Blantye-Limbe	1977	219	3.9
Mauritius	Port-Louis	1983	138	14.2
Mozambique	Maputo	1980	755	6.5
Rwanda	Kigali	1978	117	2.4
Seychelles	Port Victoria	1977	15	23.4
Uganda	Kampala	1980	459	3.0
United Republic of Tanzania	Dar es Salaam	1978	757a	4.3
Zambia	Lusaka	1980	536	9.5
Zimbabwe	Harare	1982	656a	8.8
SOUTHERN AFRICA				
Botswana	Gaborone	1981	60	6.5
Lesotho	Maseru	1972	29a	2.6
Swaziland	Mbabane	1975	24	4.9

Includes agglomerations.

Source : UNECA, Demographic Handbook for Africa 1988. Addis Ababa; 1988

Table A. VII : URBAN SIZE DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AND PRIMACY : SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Country (Year)	City Population in thousands				Primacy Index a1	
	Largest (P1)	Second (P2)	Third (P3)	Fourth (P4)	a) Index 1	b) Index 2
Algeria (1977)	1,448	491	344	223	2.95	1.39
Angola (1970)	475	62	60	41	7.66	2.91
Benin (1979)	320	38	26	23	8.42	3.68
Burkina Faso (1983)	308	174	45	41	1.77	1.18
Burundi (1979)	162	93	80	75	1.74	0.65
Cameroon (1976)	458	314	79	69	1.49	0.99
Central Afr.(1975)	301	32	30	27	9.41	3.38
Cote d'Ivoire (1975)	951	175	61	50	5.43	3.32
Congo (1985)	456	214	40	34	2.13	1.58
Egypt (1976)	5,074	2,318	1,230	394	2.18	1.29
Ethiopia (1984)	1,413	275	98	76	5.14	3.15
Gabon (1975)	251	75	23	--	3.26	-
Gambia (1983)	68	44	20	19	1.55	0.82
Ghana (1984)	860	349	262	137	2.46	1,15
Kenya (1979)	828	341	153	93	2.43	1.41
Madagascar (1975)	406	79	77	68	5.14	1.81
Malawi (1977)	99	24	22	--	4.13	-
Malawi (1976)	404	65	54	45	6.22	2.47
Mauritius	138					
Mozambique (1980)	755	214	145	-	3.52	-
Niger (1975)	130	42	40	30	3.10	1.16
Nigeria (1984)	4,486	4,230	1,654	1,167	1.06	0.64
Tunisia (1975)	550	71	70	70	7.75	2.61
Senegal (1976)	800	115	104	88	6.96	2.61
Sierra Leone (1985)	470	82	60	52	7.73	2.42
Sudan (1983)	526	476	341	207	1.11	0.51
Tanzania (1978)	831	143	129	84	6.82	2.34
Togo (1981)	370	48	28	28	7.71	3.56
Uganda (1980)	459	45	29	28	10.2	4.50
Zaire (1984)	2,654	543	423	391	4.88	1.9
Zambia (1980)	536	284	250	139	1.88	0.82
Zimbabwe (1982)	656	414	173	79	1.58	0.98

Source : UNECA, Demographic Handbook for Africa 1988. Addis Ababa; 1988

a1 Two-City index = P1/P2 ; Four city index = P1/(P2 +P3 +P4)

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Printed at the United Nations (UNECA), Addis-Abeba, 089-215-500